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JOURNAL

OF

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. I.—*On the Birs Nimrud, or the Great Temple of Borsippa.*

By SIR HENRY C. RAWLINSON, K.C.B.

[Read 13th January, 1855.]

CHAPTER I.

I.—PERSONAL NARRATIVE.

AFTER being encamped for ten days at the foot of the Babylonian Mound of the *Kasr*, employed in a careful examination of the great mass of the ruins and the surrounding topography, I took advantage of the first break in the weather to pay a flying visit to the *Birs-Nimrud*, where excavations had been carried on for above two months, under my directions and on account of the British Museum, by an intelligent young man, M. Joseph Tonietti by name, with a view of ascertaining the general features of the building, and thus finally disposing of the many difficult questions connected with this remarkable ruin. Crossing the river at the village of *Anana*, a ride of three hours and a quarter brought our small party, which consisted of Dr. Hyslop, the Rev. Mr. Leacroft, and myself, to the spot in question. We found our tents already pitched at the camp, or village, which our labourers had formed a short distance to the north of the mound, but without alighting we proceeded on at once to inspect the excavations. That day was consumed in making a careful inspection of the various works in progress, and in endeavouring to realize and restore a general plan of the original building from a comparison of the various sections of exterior wall, and interior strata of brickwork, which had been laid bare by the vertical and horizontal trenches now seaming the mound.

Having satisfied myself from this examination that at several

points the outer walls of the primitive edifice had been reached, and that the line of one face (the south-eastern) of the third stage was completely uncovered, so as to leave the angles exposed, I proceeded on the next morning with a couple of gangs of workmen to turn to account the experience obtained from the excavations of Kileh-Shergat and Mugheir, in searching for commemorative cylinders.¹ On reaching the ruins I placed a gang at work upon each of the exposed angles of the third stage, directing them to remove the bricks forming the corner, carefully, one after the other, and when they had reached a certain level to pause until I came to inspect the further demolition of the wall. In the meantime I proceeded with flag staffs, compass, and measuring tape, to do what I could in taking sections and elevations. After half an hour I was summoned to the southern corner where the workmen had reached the tenth layer of brick above the plinth at the base, which was the limit I had marked out for their preliminary work. The bricks had been easily displaced, being laid in a mere bed of red earth of no tenacity whatever. The workmen eyed my proceedings with some curiosity, but as they had been already digging for above two months at various points of the mound without finding any thing, and as the demolition of a solid wall seemed to the last degree unpromising, and had at its commencement yielded no results, they were evidently dispirited and incredulous.

On reaching the spot I was first occupied for a few minutes in adjusting a prismatic compass on the lowest brick now remaining of the original angle, which fortunately projected a little, so as to afford a good point for obtaining the exact magnetic bearing of the two sides, and I then ordered the work to be resumed. No sooner had the next layer of bricks been removed than the workmen called out there was a *Khazeneh*, or "treasure hole;" that is, in the corner at the distance of two bricks from the exterior surface, there was a vacant space filled half up with loose reddish sand. "Clear away the sand," I said, "and bring out the cylinder;" and as I spoke the words, the Arab, groping with his hand among the débris in the hole, seized and held up in triumph a fine cylinder of baked clay, in as perfect a condition as when it was deposited in the artificial cavity above twenty-four centuries ago. The workmen were perfectly bewildered. They could be heard whispering to each other that it was *sihr*, or "magic," while the grey-beard of the party significantly observed to his companion,

¹ From the ruins of a temple at the former place were obtained the cylinders of Tiglath Pileser I. (about B.C. 1120), which are now in the British Museum. The discovery of the cylinders of Nabonidus at Mugheir is described by Mr. Taylor in the last number of the Journal, vol. xv. part ii., p. 263 and 264.

that the *compass*, which, as I have mentioned, I had just before been using, and had accidentally placed immediately above the cylinder, was certainly "*a wonderful instrument*."

I sat down for a few minutes on the ruins of the wall to run over the inscription on the cylinder, devouring its contents with that deep delight which antiquaries only know—such, I presume, as German scholars have sometimes felt when a Palimpsest yields up its treasures, and the historic doubts of ages are resolved in each succeeding line—and I then moved my station to the other angle of the stage, that is, to the eastern corner, in order to direct the search for a second cylinder. Here the discovery was not accomplished with the same certainty and celerity as in the first instance; the immediate angle of the wall was gradually demolished to the very base, and although I fully expected, as each layer of bricks was removed, that the cavity containing the cylinder would appear, I was doomed to disappointment. I then directed the bricks to be removed to a certain distance from the corner on each face, but the search was still unsuccessful; and I had just observed to my fellow-travellers that I feared the masons had served Nebuchadnezzar as the Russian architects were in the habit of serving Nicholas—that there had been foul play in carrying out His Majesty's orders—when a shout of joy arose from the workmen and another fine cylinder came forth from its hiding place in the wall.¹ As I knew the inscription would prove to be a mere duplicate of the other, I did not peruse it with the same absorbing interest, but still it was very satisfactory to have at least a double copy of the primitive autographic record.

I now moved the workmen to the two remaining angles of the stage; that is, to the northern and western corners, but with very little prospect of further success; for it was evident from a rough estimate of the level that the greater portion of the wall at these angles had been already broken away, and that, if any cylinders had been deposited within, they must thus have rolled down with the other débris to the foot of the mound. The workmen, however, were employed for two days in clearing away the wall at these points to its base, and subsequently in removing the bricks to a certain distance on each side of the corner; and although nothing resulted from the search, the rule was by no means impugned that, wherever the stage

¹ The news of this discovery of the cylinders at the Birs seems to have flown far and wide on the wings of fame, for since my return to Baghdad I have been besieged by applications to employ "the magic compass" in extracting treasures which are believed to be buried in the court yards or concealed in the walls of the houses; often in the very "*boudoirs*" of the ladies.

of an Assyrian or Babylonian temple can be laid bare, historical or commemorative cylinders will be found deposited in a cavity of the wall at the four corners, from one-third to one-half of the height of the stage, and at one or two feet from the outside surface. At the corners in question the angles were alone perfect near the base ; at the height where the cylinders should have been found the wall was already ruined to a distance of six feet on each side from the corners.

It now only remained for me to complete my measurements and, carrying off the cylinders as trophies, to return to the camp which had been left standing at Babylon.

II.—ACCOUNT OF THE EXCAVATIONS UNDERTAKEN IN AUGUST, SEPTEMBER, AND OCTOBER, 1854.

The next point of interest will be to give a brief description of the works at *Birs-Nimrud*.

My original instructions to M. Tonietti had been to search the slope of the mound (not the fissures or ravines) narrowly for any trace of brickwork cropping through the soil ; when this was found, to ascertain the line in which the bricks were running ; then to follow the bricks outwards, at right angles of course to the line of the wall, until the exterior facing was reached ; from such a point to make an opening to the foot of the wall, and subsequently to run a trench along the whole line of wall until the angles were turned at the two corners, so as to expose the complete face of one of the stages of which I had no doubt the original building had been formed. I left it entirely to chance as to which of the four faces might be thus attacked ; but I suggested, in regard to height above the plain, that the centre of the mound offered the most favourable *locale* for excavation, inasmuch as the exterior surfaces of the upper stages might be reasonably supposed to have been destroyed, or at any rate to have suffered extensive abrasion from their exposed position, while the accumulation of débris towards the base would render it a work of immense labour to lay bare the face of the lower platforms.

M. Tonietti carried out these instructions with care and judgment. About half way up the mound he came upon a line of wall almost immediately, and, by tracing it outwards, he soon arrived at the perpendicular face. This face he opened to a depth of 26 feet, when he reached the platform at the base, and after a month's labour he suc-

ceeded in uncovering the wall from its southern to its eastern angle.¹ Having obtained this indication of level and extent, he had no difficulty, presuming the platform to be square, in discovering the northern and western angles at equidistant points, although, as several feet of débris were here accumulated on the surface, but for the guide afforded by measurement, there would have been no more reason for sinking shafts at such points than in any other quarter of this immense mound.

It was impossible to err as to the identity of the wall, discovered by digging at the northern and western angles of the mound, with that of which the south-eastern face had been already exposed, because, as I shall presently explain, it was composed of a peculiar material, not otherwise found in the ruin; but I did not think it worth while to verify this identity by excavating the three remaining sides, and thus connecting all the corners, as such an operation would have required a vast expenditure both of time and money. I thought it quite sufficient to have uncovered the south-eastern face and to have exposed all the corners, thus obtaining, either by measurement or calculation, the dimensions of the platform; and I accordingly directed that the next operation should be to run two trenches, from the summit of the mound to its foot, crossing the line of the exposed stage at its corners, and at an angle of 135 degrees, which, if the original structure had been formed of a series of platforms receding at equal distances on the four sides, would of course have exposed the angles of each successive stage, and have thus led to an immediate recognition of the design. Wherever a corner, or a single perpendicular wall was met with, I further directed the trench to be sunk to its base, so as to determine the height of the platform. Unfortunately as M. Tonietti was without instruments, these trenches were not run in the exact lines indicated. Even had they faced the south and east, which would have been nearly the supposed line of the corners, they would not have quite answered the desired purpose, for I have since ascertained that the stages were not erected with perfect equidistant regularity one above the other. From the example indeed of Mugheir, and the general contour of the ruin at the Birs-Nimrud I ought to have

¹ I must here observe that Rich and Porter have both been guilty of a most singular error in describing the sides of the Birs, as facing the four cardinal points. In reality it is the four corners, which with a slight error face those points, and the titles of Ker Porter's Plates (vol. ii., plates 69 and 70) must be thus altered throughout the series, his "western face" being S.W.; southern face, S.E.; eastern face N.E.; and northern face, N.W. The N.E. face is the front of the temple; the S.W. the back, and the other two are the sides.

inferred in the first instance that on the north-eastern face, which formed the grand entrance, the platforms receded considerably in excess, in order to give a more imposing appearance to the façade; while on the south-western face which formed the back of the building, the gradines were crowded together, the difference of inclination which is thus observable on the two faces having been already remarked, and having even led to the supposition that the abruptly sloping face of the pile may have been originally perpendicular.¹

In M. Toniatti's operations the trenches were run too much to the left so that the eastern trench probably passed beyond the angle of the lower platform while the southern trench cut the wall at a distance of several yards inside the corner, they were still, however, of great importance in laying bare the successive strata of which the pile was composed and in fact first led me to suspect a peculiarity of design which was completely verified by subsequent discoveries.

I will now explain the exact results which followed from the excavation of these vertical trenches, an experimental operation which in its nature was precisely similar to laying bare for inspection a fine geological section.

From the summit of the mound, upon which stands the solitary pile of brickwork, estimated by Porter and Rich at 35 or 37 feet in height, the trenches could make little or no impression on the mound for a space of about 6 feet in perpendicular descent.² It was evident to me from an examination of the strata of bricks and from observing the general character of the irregular surface of the platform, that all this portion of the building had been artificially vitrified at the time of its construction, and previous to the erection of the culminating stage, of which the remains exist in the solid pile at the summit. For this vitrification, which was caused no doubt by the action of fierce and continued heat, and which in fact converted the second highest stage of the temple into a mass of blue slag, a substance well known to the Babylonians, and often used in the construction of their cities,³ I shall presently show a good and sufficient reason. I do not

¹ See the proposed restoration in "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 497, and Mr. Layard's ingenious suggestion that the perpendicular wall may have served the purpose of a gigantic gnomon.

² It is very doubtful if Porter took any independent measurements of height; his numbers throughout appear to be a mere servile copy of those given by Rich. Compare "Porter's Travels," vol. ii., p. 310, with "Babylon and Persepolis," pp. 75 and 167.

³ At *Sekheriyeh*, a Babylonian ruin, one hour south of *Bogheileh*, and near the confluence of the ancient Zab, or Nil Canal, with the Tigris (thus nearly answering to the position of the *Apamea Mesenes* of the Greeks), the only material which

more over, to say that it was owing to the accidental use of imperishable material like slag so near the summit of the Birs, we are indebted for the solitary preservation of this one building among the many hundreds of not inferior temples which once studded the surface of Babylonia. The original slag stage reached, I think, several feet above the present level of the platform, and the huge masses of vitrified matter, which have been so often described as having rolled down into the plain, have almost certainly split off from the lower portion of the pile now standing. The action of the fire probably did not reach—or at any rate it reached but imperfectly—the portion of the brickwork furthest removed from the exterior surface; and there are thus few marks of the vitrification to be traced on the base of the pile as it stands at present; but there is still, I think, a difference of quality to be recognized between the upper and lower divisions of the brickwork, the latter being the harder of the two. I suspect, indeed, that it was the imperfect vitrification of the whole mass which impaired its cohesive power, and led to the upper exterior angles of the platform which were thoroughly hardened and could not crumble, splitting off, under the action of the elements, from the brickwork of the centre which was not equally indurated; but when a broader base had been obtained, less susceptible of impression from the weather, the huge slag platform lay over the mound like the keystone of an arch, affording for the steeple-like fragment of the upper stages an immovable pedestal, and compressing and preserving the more perishable lower stages by which it was itself supported. All this will be rendered clearer in the sequel, but I could not resist giving a preliminary explanation of the vitrified masses at the summit of the Birs, as their nature and probable mode of formation have been generally misunderstood and have given rise to much extravagant hypothesis.¹

Between the vitrified brick-work, which formed the second highest

seems to have been employed in the construction of the city is a dark blue slag. The mortar and mud cement have everywhere crumbled, but the masses of slag, now lying in heaps on the desert, exhibit no sign of decomposition. The same peculiarity is also observable in the ruins of *Roweijeh*, near the Hye. I should now suspect that both these cities had been originally consecrated to the planet Mercury.

¹ Thus Ker Porter supposes these vitrified masses "on the fire-blasted summit of the pile" to be fragments of the upper stage of the original tower of Babel, erected by Nimrud and destroyed by lightning from heaven.—*Travels*, vol. ii. p. 319.

stage of the Birs, and the red stage exposed belowed, the trenches passed through two distinct strata of materials for a space as near as I could calculate of about 30 vertical feet. The angles being entirely abraded in the line of the trenches, and generally, as I think, around the entire slope of the mound, it was impossible to obtain any measurement of a perpendicular wall, or even to define from the exposed section the precise limits of the different systems of brickwork. As indeed in the upper standing pile, the grey weather-beaten bricks of the highest stage gradually merge into the vitrified stage below, so do the blue vitrified strata gradually merge into a mass of fine light-yellow brickwork lower down, the intermediate or conterminous layers being green, and what is still more remarkable, so does the third or yellow stage merge into a roseate, pink division which evidently formed the fourth or [centre stage of the building.¹ The original brickwork from the red stage upwards is generally of one uniform character. I thought at one time I could trace a gradual diminution in the dimensions of the bricks, those of the pink stage being 14 inches square and 4 inches deep, of the yellow $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $3\frac{1}{2}$, of the blue $12\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$, of the grey at the summit 12 by 3 ; but previous travellers have given these measurements differently, and I could not obtain a sufficient number of detached specimens "in situ" to verify the distinction.² Indeed I am not sure but that the interior construction of the whole mass, from the red stage (or even from the base) upwards, may have been absolutely the same ; and that the distinctive characteristics of colouring which rendered this temple especially remarkable, and which were certainly in a great measure dependent on the materials employed, may have been exclusively considered near the exterior surface, where of course they would be alone visible.³ At any rate the description of brick, as exposed in the trenches, though differently coloured, was the same throughout the four upper stages, being kiln-baked and of the greatest hardness, while the lime cement, laid in very thin layers

¹ In following down the line of the trenches, it is to be observed that I number the stages from the summit, while in my subsequent attempt to restore the seven successive stages I commence the numerical series from the base.

² This theory of progressive diminution must certainly be abandoned, as far as regards the thickness of the bricks. I have found indeed on working out all my measurements of series of layers, that no uniform scale can be adopted, the bricks varying in thickness throughout the upper stages from three to four inches.

³ It will subsequently appear from the inscription found at the Birs that the heart of the pile must have been constructed of *libbin* or crude brick, and that the walls accordingly through which the trenches penetrated could have only been the exterior coating. The interior core of crude brick at any rate was never reached, and could not, I think, have existed originally above the fifth stage from the base.

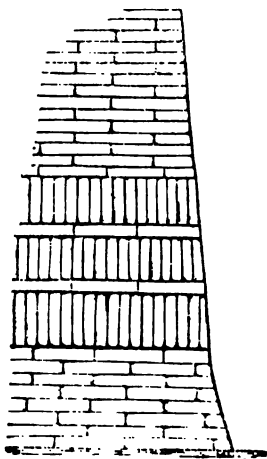
(not more than one-fourth of an inch in depth, in some places and never perhaps exceeding three-fourths of an inch,) was of the finest possible quality, and was entirely unmixed with reeds. I obtained my measurements of distances throughout the four upper stages by counting the layers of brick, but as I could not be sure of the uniform thickness of the bricks which varied from three inches to four, nor of the allowance to be made for the average layer of cement, varying from one-fourth to three-fourths of an inch, I do not pretend to consider them as any thing more than approximations. It will be seen, however, when I proceed to restore the elevation of the temple, that the measurements come out with sufficient accuracy.

From the summit of the mound to the fifth or red stage, the trenches were of no further use than in laying bare a double section of the brick-work : from that point downwards they were more satisfactory. The horizontal opening along the S. E. face of the mound, from one trench to the other, exposed the entire wall of the red stage, showing its height to be 26 feet, and revealed some peculiarities of building which require to be specially noticed. The bricks of which it was composed were formed of red clay and but half burnt, being that species of building material which is called by the Arabs of the present day *libin* (Heb. לִבְנָה) and which is quite distinct from the *Ajúr* or *Tabook*, which is hard and kiln-baked.¹ These bricks, measuring 14 inches square and 5 inches in thickness, were laid in crude red clay, mixed up with chopped straw, the layer of this most indifferent cement being 2 inches in depth. The bricks were so soft as to yield to the blow of a hammer, and the clay cement crumbled under the touch. They thus formed the most unfavourable materials for building that could possibly have been devised; and it is difficult to conceive how they could have supported, for any length of time, a mere exposure to the atmosphere. To obviate, in some measure, the inadequacy of such a bulwark to resist the interior pressure, the wall slanted inwards at an angle of two or three degrees, and additional strength was given to it by a slightly projecting plinth, formed of the

¹ Rich says that לִבְנָה signifies "brick, of course the burnt sort from the root"—*Bab. and Pers.*, p. 69—but I question this very much. The name was given from the *white* colour of the clay employed, and has nothing to do with burning. The distinction in all the inscriptions between *libin* and *agur* is precisely that now observed by the Arabs; and in the famous passage of Genesis, chap. xi. v. 3, I understand the meaning to be, "Let us make bricks of *libin* (or 'white clay'), and then burn them." If נִלְבְּנָה implied "burning the bricks," what would have been the use of adding the verb נִשְׂרֶפֶת?

same red bricks laid on their edges, and by an abutment at the base.¹ The most remarkable feature, however, in regard to this wall, was that at several points along its face, brickwork of a totally different class was found running up against it, to at least two-thirds of its height. This brick-work, although formed of the very best materials, was everywhere ruined; so much so, indeed, that I could not determine whether it belonged to the walls of chambers built on the platform at the foot of the wall, or whether it did not rather represent the débris of a series of lateral buttresses run up against the wall to support it. Of two things only could I be sure: Firstly, that it had not formed an exterior casing; and secondly, that it was of the same date as the original structure, the bricks being usually marked on their lower face with Nebuchadnezzar's stamp (as I should have observed was uniformly the case, though at irregular intervals, throughout the upper stages), and the discovery of the cylinders in the inner wall proving that portion of the building to be of the same age. It was certainly most extraordinary to find this outwork of masonry of the best description completely ruined, while of the very inferior and yielding wall within there was not a brick displaced; nor can I now (unless by supposing artificial mutilation in the one case, which did not extend to the other)² account for the condition of these two contiguous specimens of Babylonian architecture being exactly in an inverse ratio to their capability of resistance. The bricks of the red

¹ The corner of the wall exhibited something of this appearance—



² I shall subsequently suggest a reason for the intentional destruction of the outwork on the platform by later explorers of the mound.

wall, I must add, were in no case stamped, owing, I presume, to their inferior quality; at any rate the want of the stamp could not indicate their belonging to another age, against the evidence of the cylinders, carefully imbedded at the corners. Below the fifth or red stage, for a space of about 26 vertical feet, the trenches traversed a mass of crumbling brick-work, of the same character as the lateral walls abutting on the upper stage. I thought I could trace a wall in the southern trench, about half-way in horizontal distance between the perpendicular wall of the fifth or red stage above, and the perpendicular wall of the seventh or black stage below; but I could not be certain, as there had evidently been a series of buildings on the lower platform abutting on the sixth stage, and on the sixth platform abutting on the fifth stage; and now that these buildings, composed precisely of the same materials as the wall of the sixth stage, were all crumbling in ruin, it was impossible to discriminate their respective sections. Had there been any well-defined wall in this interval, M. Tonietti would have followed it vertically, so as to have exposed its facing. At one point, and that precisely where I subsequently remarked a very suspicious-looking line of masonry in the side of the trench, he did thus attempt to sink a shaft perpendicularly along what seemed to be a line of wall, but he was soon arrested by an aperture leading into a vaulted chamber, within which he penetrated, at imminent risk, for a distance of ten or twelve paces, observing by the light of a candle that all further passage was choked up with rubbish; and that the interior of the chamber had evidently fallen in. From the open part he brought out the trunk of a date-tree, hollowed out, as is the custom at the present day, to serve as a channel for water, but otherwise in a very fair state of preservation, although the tree must have been cut down above twenty centuries ago; for the bricks of which the chamber was composed bore the Nebuchadnezzar stamp, and I should question if the chamber could have been entered since the Greek occupation of Babylon. As there were above thirty feet of crumbling débris without the slightest tenacity whatever, pressing perpendicularly on the sides of the trench, and under which the chamber appeared to penetrate, it would have been a work of extreme danger to have cleared it out, and M. Tonietti therefore reserved its examination until my arrival. A few hours, however, before I visited the spot, the trench itself had given way, bringing down with it a shower of rubbish from the sides; and the chamber being thus again buried to a depth of fifteen or twenty feet, I did not think it worth while to re-excavate the entrance. From the position of this chamber I judged it to have been a gallery opening from the platform of the seventh stage into the wall of the

sixth stage, and I think it was in some way connected with the hydraulic works which supplied the temple with water. Although little was thus accomplished in clearing out the sixth stage, I here obtained some important measurements. By placing a flag-staff on the slope of the mound beyond the trench, but in the exact line of the lower or black wall which I shall presently describe, and by then measuring with the tape horizontally to the nearest point of the red wall, which insured the line being drawn at a right angle, I obtained a distance of 42 feet for the aggregate width of the seventh and sixth platforms on the S. E. face. I had already obtained a measurement of 12 feet for the platform of the red stage at the back of the temple, or on its N. E. face; and supposing the construction and recession of the gradines from the front to have been regular, these elements, with the square of the red stage accurately fixed at 188 feet, are sufficient for the restoration of the design.

It remains for me now to notice the wall of the lower stage. Towards the base of the mound, M. Toniatti's southern trench struck on the corner of a well-defined wall; and according to my instructions he immediately sunk a shaft in front of it, and subsequently opened the wall somewhat beyond the breadth of the trench, or for about 10 feet. He had only reached to a depth of 17 feet when I came to examine the work, and 9 feet more of excavation would thus have been required to reach the base of the wall, if, as appeared probable, it was equal in height to the walls of the two platforms immediately above; but being pressed for time, I did not think it necessary to continue the shaft. The wall was beautifully formed of bricks of the same size as those of the next superior stage, 14 inches square by 4 inches deep, which may be taken as the normal type in the lower stages; but there was this peculiarity in the construction, that the bricks were laid in bitumen, and that the face of the wall to a depth of half-an-inch was coated with the same material, so as to give it a jet-black appearance.¹ The eastern trench, as I have before observed, appeared from the direction to have run outside the eastern angle of the lower stage, and not to have been sunk deep enough to cut its N. E. face. The line of the southern trench, on the other hand, must have run somewhat within the southern angle; and much as I should have wished to lay bare the corners, where there are almost certainly commemorative cylinders, I shrunk from the enormous labour of continuing lateral galleries from either trench along the face of the wall

¹ Porter remarked fragments of bitumen towards the base of the mound, and even brought away a specimen 10 inches long and 3 in thickness. (*Travels*, vol. ii, p. 315.)—This had probably been a part of the coating of one of the recesses of the lower wall.

so as to reach the angles, there being at least 40 feet of perpendicular debris above the spots where I should expect the cylinders to be deposited.¹ Another remarkable feature of this lower wall was, that in the small portion laid bare there was one of those indented rectangular recesses which have been found at Khorsabad, Warka, and Mugheir, and which may be now, therefore, regarded as the standard decoration of the external architecture of ancient Assyria and Babylonia.

The trenches, on approaching the level of the plain, traversed a mass of crude, sun-dried bricks,² which formed the foundation of the temple, and which as we shall presently see from the cylinder inscription, belonging to the primitive edifice, was left untouched by Nebuchadnezzar when he rebuilt the upper stages. A curious illustration of this difference of age is also to be found in the varying direction of the lines of brick-work, as occurring in the foundation and in the temple which it supported; the corners in the upper building nearly facing the four cardinal points, while the lines of the sun-dried bricks at the base are deflected 16 degrees to the east. It is impossible, of course, that this great discrepancy between the two designs can have anything to do with astronomical variation; but for the small error from the true bearing, amounting to $4\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, which is apparent above, a natural explanation may very well be sought.³ We may assign the error, it is true, to imperfect instruments, but I should prefer explaining it by supposing the lines to have been laid on a day when the sun had $4\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of eastern amplitude. Leaving this question, however, for future discussion, I have here only to add, in reference to the foundation platform of the temple, that in the eastern trench it was quite impossible to estimate its true height above the plain, as the line of excavation fell upon the outskirts of the subsidiary mound on the N. E. face of the temple, which

¹ On laying down the ground-plan of the temple, I find that the right-hand trench must have run very near the southern corner of the lower stage; and I now, therefore, regret not having continued the gallery a little farther on. To my eye, however, on the spot, the distance of the angle from the trench appeared to be greater.

² As there is a general impression that the ordinary character of Babylonian building is a mass of crude sun-dried bricks laid in reeds, I may here observe that the employment of reeds was absolutely unknown to the Babylonians, except to prevent soft bricks from sinking into the bitumen when that material was used as a cement. All the ruins where the reeds are observed are Parthian, such as the upper wall of *Babel* (Rich's *Mujellibeh*) *Akkerkuf*, *Al Hynar*, *Zibliyeh*, and the walls of Seleucia. The baked bricks of Babylon often, however, bear the impression of reeds, from having been laid on reed matting when in a soft state.

³ M. Fresnel gives the error from the cardinal points at five or six degrees, and supposes this to be the magnetic variation of the spot (see *Journ. Asiat.* for

no doubt formed the grand entrance, and was a part of the primeval building; while in the southern trench, also, from the very gradual slope of the base, and the difficulty of ascertaining where the true level of the outside plain was reached, I could not venture on anything more than an approximation. To my eye, from the true base of the black wall (supposing nine feet to have remained uncovered) to the level of the alluvial soil was not more than five vertical feet; but if the calculations of Rich and Porter should be at all correct, in assigning a height of 235 feet to the mound, inclusive of the pile at the summit, I must have made some grievous error in the measurements which I have recorded, measurements which were partly obtained by counting the layers of bricks, partly by the actual tape-line, and partly by estimate, and which give at most 156 feet for the entire elevation. I did take the altitude of the Birs-Nimrud, trigonometrically, fifteen years ago, and to the best of my recollection the result was about 160 feet; but I have mislaid the memorandum of the measurement. On the present occasion I had no instrument with me but a surveying compass, and could not therefore repeat the experiment; so that, as I cannot claim to place estimated or imperfectly remembered numbers above that which appears to be a recorded observation on the part of Rich, and as the discrepancy between our aggregate results is too great to be adjusted by any petty correction either on one side or the other, I must leave the question of the detailed measurements in suspense between us, until the entire altitude of the mound is determinately fixed¹ by some competent authority.

July, 1853, p. 59). The true magnetic variation, however, at Babylon, determined by a series of azimuths, is four degrees. The compass which I used had an error in itself of one degree the other way; and as my magnetic bearing was $52\frac{1}{2}$ degrees for the line of the S.E. face, I thus give the true error of the building at $4\frac{1}{2}$ degrees east. Captain Jones, however, who is now surveying at Babylon, will be probably able to take a direct azimuth with the line of the red wall, which will determine the error of the building astronomically, and be independent of magnetic variation and the difficulty of adjusting such rude instruments as prismatic compasses.

¹ Captain Jones will certainly determine this point during his present survey of Babylon, and I may perhaps receive his measurements, obtained by the theodolite, in time to accompany the present paper.

Since writing the above, I have received from Captain Jones a note of his trigonometrical observations at the Birs. He worked upon a very carefully measured and levelled base, and employed a full-sized surveying theodolite, reversing the telescope at each observation, to insure perfect accuracy of the angles; and the result of the operation, both by protraction and calculation, was to determine the vertical distance from the water-level of the plain to the highest point of the ruin, at the summit of the mound of the Birs, at $153\frac{1}{2}$ English feet. As this measurement, then, is only a few feet ($2\frac{1}{2}$) below the aggregate of my estimated height, I have not thought it worth while to make any further correction of the numbers I have

Before closing my description of the works at the Birs, and proceeding to restore the temple, I must add a few general remarks on the mound, which may be of use to future excavators. Of all the Babylonian and Assyrian ruins which I have ever opened, the Birs is undoubtedly the most difficult to deal with. The mound is composed either of solid brick-work, or of a mass of *débris* formed of crumbling bricks and pounded mortar, which has no tenacity whatever, and which, immediately it is undermined by a vertical trench, is liable to come rushing down in an avalanche of rubbish; it is only where a trench is run along horizontally, under the shelter of one of the perpendicular walls, that the labourers can work with any degree of security; and this peculiarity seems to have been recognised in ancient times, and even to have been taken advantage of, by some adventurous explorers; for there appear to be traces of old horizontal trenches at various points of the mound, and in excavating along the red wall we had ample evidence that we were actually following in the footsteps of earlier explorers. The lateral walls, indeed, which must have stood upon the sixth platform and abutted on the fifth stage, bore strong marks, as I have already observed, of artificial destruction; and at the very foot of the red wall itself, at 26 vertical feet from its summit, the labourers found three baskets, precisely similar to those they were themselves using for carrying away the *débris*, with this sole exception that the baskets were made of Indiapalm, instead of Baghdad-date, fibre. At what period the excavations may have taken place, which were thus unexpectedly revealed to us, I will not pretend to decide; but I could only infer, from the discovery of the baskets, that we were but repeating an experiment of some earlier antiquaries or treasure-seekers; and that, in fact, the mound had been already probed and perforated at a hundred different points, and that it owed much of its irregular appearance, and the enormous accumulation of *débris* near the base, to the attacks which had been made on its surface by the hand of man.

It may be doubted if this temple ever possessed any valuable works of art, such as sculptures or statues. I saw no traces of slabs or marbles,¹ nor indeed of any substance but brick and mortar. Treas-

adopted. How Mr. Rich, who was a scientific observer, could have fallen into the error of exaggerating the height of the mound by one-third, is quite inexplicable; and it is equally strange that Porter, and all succeeding travellers, should have adopted the measurement without suspecting its accuracy, or taking any pains to verify the details.

¹ Rich, however, observes that the whole surface of the mound is strewed with pieces of black-stone, sandstone, and marble. (*Bab. and Pers.*, p. 76.) Such may

sures it of course originally contained, but of such it must have long ago been rifled. All that can be now looked for are commemorative records of the time of Nebuchadnezzar. The two perfect cylinders which I obtained from the southern and eastern angles of the wall of the red stage, belong to that series of local records which were deposited by Nebuchadnezzar at the angles of each successive platform of the edifice when he rebuilt the temple. Wherever the uninjured angles of a stage can be laid bare, there will other specimens of the same class undoubtedly be found; but the inscription will be the same upon all, and the relics will therefore be merely of value as curiosities. Already I possess, from the débris in the trenches, two fragments of a third cylinder, which must have rolled down from one of the upper stages; but the sole advantage of this relic is to furnish a third copy of the first column of the inscription. An accumulation of specimens may supply a few variant letters or supplementary phrases, but will be otherwise of no interest. But I still think it highly probable that there are other barrel cylinders to be found among the débris of the chambers erected upon the platforms, or along the line of the grand entrance on the north-eastern front, which are of greater importance. I obtained, indeed, at the Birs a small fragment of such a cylinder, which must have been of the largest size, and which contained probably an amplified description of all the works and achievements of Nebuchadnezzar, recorded on the famous slab at the India House; for I find on this fragment a notice, in some detail, of Nebuchadnezzar's expedition to the Mediterranean and his conquest of the kings of the West, to which there is a cursory allusion in the great inscription, from the twelfth to the twenty-ninth line of the second column. Should excavations be resumed at the Birs-Nimrud at any future time, either on account of the British Museum or of other parties, I would especially recommend the N. E. face of the mound to the attention of explorers. Here was undoubtedly the grand entrance to the temple, the large mass of ruins at the foot of the great mound forming a sort of vestibule, which opened on the staircase leading from the second to the third platform from the base.¹ The débris above the stages of brick-work would be probably more extensive on this face than in any other quarter, owing to the greater space offered for its accumulation by the receding platforms, and excavation therefore would be more laborious; but, judging from the single precedent of Mugheir, it would have been the case when he visited the mound, but I can confidently assert that at present no such fragments exist.

¹ The outline of this vestibule is conjecturally laid down in my restoration of the N.E. profile of the temple.

seem to have been along the line of the entrance that the barrel cylinders were alone ranged, which bore inscriptions of a more general nature, and not exclusively appropriated to the record of one particular building; and if, accordingly, as I cannot help anticipating, the discovery awaits some future explorer, of Babylonian annals recording Nebuchadnezzar's conquest of Egypt and Judæa, the grand vestibule of the temple of Borsippa, affording the best-defined and most favourable locality at present available for examination, will be, I think, the spot where the treasure will be first disclosed.

III.—PROPOSED RESTORATION OF THE DESIGN OF THE TEMPLE.

I have not thought it necessary in the foregoing account to give any detailed description of the *Birs-Nimrud* as it existed before I opened trenches on its surface, nor, as I proceed with the narrative, will this matter occupy much of my attention. The notices of Rich, of Porter, of Buckingham, of Fraser, and of Layard, have pretty well exhausted the descriptive branch of the subject, and may be consulted and compared with advantage. My own aim is rather to show in how far my operations have verified the conjectures of my predecessors, or have resulted in novel discoveries; and I accordingly proceed at once to explain the restoration which I would propose for the design of the edifice.

On returning to my tent at the foot of the mound, after my first survey of the works, I reflected that there were certainly six or seven distinct stages to be recognised from the foundation platform to the summit. The marked difference of colouring had also forcibly impressed me; and I was soon after struck with the coincidence, that the colour black for the first stage, red for the third, and blue for what seemed to be the sixth,¹ were precisely the colours which belonged to the first, third, and sixth spheres of the Sabman planetary system, reckoning from the outside; or, which is the same thing, were the colours which appertained to the planets Saturn, Mars, and Mercury, by whom those spheres were respectively ruled.

I had obtained no indication whatever at that time of a planetary design in the construction of the temple, from inscriptions or from other sources; but still it occurred to me that this agreement of numbers and colouring could hardly be accidental. Subsequently, I found from the cylinder record that the temple was dedicated to "the planets of the

¹ Observe that the numerical series now proceeds from the base, and that this order will be maintained throughout the subsequent description.

seven spheres;" and I announce it therefore now, as an established fact, that we have, in the ruin at the Birs, an existing illustration of the seven-walled and seven-coloured Ecbatana of Herodotus,¹ or what we may term a quadrangular representation of the old circular Chaldean planisphere. There is some difficulty with regard to the seven colours, for two reasons: firstly, because we do not know the exact chromatic scale of the ancients; and secondly, because the colouring, in some of the stages, was probably merely external, and the original surface of these stages has not been exposed. Following, however, the ordinary arrangement of the planetary colours, and the well known order of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sol, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon, I will now endeavour to explain the design of the temple.²

Upon a platform of crude brick, raised a few feet above the alluvial plain, and belonging to a temple which was erected probably in the remotest antiquity by one of the primitive Chaldean kings, Nebuchadnezzar, towards the close of his reign, must have rebuilt seven distinct stages, one upon the other, symbolical of the concentric circles of the seven spheres, and each coloured with the peculiar tint which belonged to the ruling planet. The lower stage was 272 feet square and twenty-six feet high; and it was thickly coated with bitumen, to represent the sable hue which was always attributed to the sphere of Saturn. The walls of this stage are still standing in a perfect state of preservation. The second stage, which belonged to Jupiter, was 230 feet square, and, by measurement, also twenty-six feet high, the platform in front, or on the north-eastern face, being thirty-feet in width, while that at the back, or on the south-western face, was only twelve feet. On the two other faces the platform was of equal dimensions, men-

¹ I may as well thus early state my impression, derived from numerous points of evidence which seem to me conclusive, that Herodotus could never have visited Babylon in person. His description of the city was, I believe, entirely drawn from the statements of Persian travellers whom he encountered in Syria and in Asia Minor; and these statements, which were probably not very clear or accurate at first, were certainly not improved by being retailed to the Greeks at second hand. It is thus far from improbable that the temple of the seven spheres at Borsippa may have supplied hints both for the description of the temple of Jupiter Belus at Babylon and for the Median Ecbatana, though in reality it had nothing whatever to do with either one locality or the other. My reasons for adopting this view, which, although already familiar to the French Academy from the advocacy of Quatremère, may seem heretical to the English reader, will be given in detail in the geographical section which I shall append to the present paper.

² It may be remembered that I suggested, fifteen years ago, a Sabæan explanation for the parti-coloured walls of Ecbatana, in a memoir published by the Royal Geographical Society; (See Geograph. Journ., Vol. X., Part I., p. 127). and that I there compared the colours of Herodotus with those given by *Nizami* in his poem of *Hefi-Peiker*.

suring twenty-one feet upon either side; and I may here note that these horizontal proportions seem to have been retained throughout the construction of the whole seven stages. It is not very certain what colour we are to attribute to Jupiter. The bricks, forming the second stage, are burnt to a rich red brown, nearer, perhaps, to raw sienna than any other modern colour. In the ordinary astrology of the East, the term applied to the sphere of Jupiter is *Sindali*, or Sandal-wood-colour. In the catalogue of Herodotus the corresponding word is *Σανδαράκινος*, which is usually rendered by "orange." I have seen the second sphere coloured on a modern astronomical ceiling at Kermanshah very nearly of the same tint as the bricks of the second stage at Birs-i-Nimrud. Upon the two side platforms (those of the south-eastern and north-western faces) of the first and second stages, there seem to have been a series of chambers abutting upon the perpendicular walls of the second and third stages. The same mode of construction, indeed, was probably continued to the summit, for it must be remembered that in such positions alone could accommodation have been provided for the priests and attendants of the temple, the back platforms being too narrow to afford space for building, while the north-eastern front was, I conceive, entirely taken up with staircases and the other accessories of approach. There may also have been vaulted chambers leading from these side platforms into the interior of the mass of masonry. I have noticed the discovery of one such chamber on the platform of the lowest stage; and it is not probable that this was a solitary "souterrain."

The third stage, which was dedicated to Mars, was found by measurement to be 188 feet square, and again twenty-six feet high, the agreement in altitude between this stage and the last authorizing me, as I think, to apply the number in question to the lower stage also, which, however, as I have mentioned, was only excavated to the depth of seventeen feet. If there had not been some special reason for depicting the third stage of a bright red colour, it is inconceivable why the builders, having at their disposal the finest burnt brick and the most tenacious mortar, should have employed such indifferent materials as *Libbin* and red clay—materials, indeed, which were notoriously so deficient in strength that buttresses and abutments were required for the support of the wall, and an inclination even was given to it of some degrees from the perpendicular, to the utter destruction of all architectural symmetry. The reason, of course, for the preference of the crude brick was the exact agreement of its natural hue with the colour which was appropriated to Mars, the Chaldeans, Greeks, Persians, and Arabs having all : d in

senting this planetary god as "red," from the ruddy aspect, no doubt, which the star bears in the heavens.

The fourth stage must have been that of the Sun, whose sphere is described as "golden." No where upon the mound could I satisfy myself that the exterior surface of this stage was exposed. The debris, intermixed with walls, which was heaped upon the platform of the third stage on the south-eastern face, belonged no doubt to a series of supplementary chambers, as upon the lower platforms ; and on the south-western face or back of the temple,—although the earth was sufficiently cleared away to expose the breadth of the platform, and even, as I think, to show the position of the southern corner—the face of the wall was entirely broken away, as if with blows of the pickaxe. Indeed, I cannot help suspecting that the fourth stage, or that of the Sun, was originally gilt, or cased with gold plates (*Khuraz vashalbieu*, or "clothed with gold," according to the phraseology employed by Nebuchadnezzar in describing his other gilded palaces and temples); and that it was the discovery of this fact which prompted the later possessors of the country to sink trenches along the line of the wall, and after despoiling it of its casing, to extend their explorations to the walls of the stages immediately below, in search of the same rich material. The horizontal dimensions of the fourth stage, according to measurement, at the southern corner,—that is, by subtracting the breadth of the platform, as seen at this corner, from the inferior stage,—must have been 146 feet square. If the design of the original building had been perfectly symmetrical, the height of the fourth stage would have been twenty-six feet, like the two measured stages below ; and such were the proportions which I expected to find when I first began to restore the temple ; but although I had no positive measurements of the height of any of the upper walls—owing to the line of the trenches, which, from the base, thus far had run outside the original profile of the mound here falling within it—it soon became apparent that the standard of the lower stages could not apply to the superior platforms. As the section, indeed, of the trenches—exhibiting from the top of the third stage to the commencement of the slag which formed the sixth stage a solid and continuous mass of brickwork, of which the lower portion was formed of bricks of a pink colour, kiln-baked, but considerably lighter than those of the second stage, while the upper portion was formed of yellow bricks—admitted of no more than thirty vertical feet for the united height of the two intervening terraces, that is, for the fourth and fifth stages of the temple, I could not doubt but that the dimensions of the stages, from this point, were, in regard to elevation,

considerably diminished. The pink and yellow layers are so intermingled, where the zones, as exposed in the trenches, appear to join, and generally, indeed, wherever the bricks can be examined around the slope of the mound, that it is impossible to say exactly where one division ends, or the other begins. At no point, however, could I estimate the height of the fourth stage, from counting the layers of pink bricks, at more than sixteen feet (in some places it seemed reduced to twelve feet); nor the height of the fifth, or yellow stage, at less than fourteen feet; and I think, therefore, I am justified in assuming a height of about fifteen feet for each of the stages in question. The same proportions, it will presently be seen, also apply sufficiently well to the remains of the sixth and seventh stages; and the measurement accordingly of fifteen feet is adopted in my proposed restoration of the profile of the temple as the standard height of all the upper stages; but whether the numbers of twenty-six and fifteen have any architectural relation to each other, or whether the decrease in the elevation of the platforms refer to some astronomical conceit, indicating, in fact, the supposed diminution in size of the interior celestial spheres, I cannot undertake at present to determine.

With regard to the fifth or yellow stage, which should have belonged to Venus, I may note as follows: Firstly—the dimensions must have been, I think, 104 feet square, and it is very possible that one of the corners near the base may have been visible when Porter visited the mound, now thirty-five years ago, although at the present time I could not discover any trace of such an angle.¹ Secondly, in respect to height; the limits of the fifth stage are not very accurately marked, either above or below. In assigning it, indeed, a height of fifteen feet, I pass somewhat beyond the range indicated by the very light-coloured masonry, supposing the intense heat which was employed to vitrify the superior stage to have extended its influence for about two feet into the mass of yellow bricks below, changing the colour to green, and, in fact, producing the effect of an imperfect vitrification. And thirdly, with regard to colour; the hue of Venus, in the planetary scale, is not well defined. I have found it depicted as white, as a light blue (زرّق) *azrak*, and as a light yellow. Herodotus even exhibits some confusion on this head, for he gives white and silver in his notice of the walls of Ecbatana as two different colours. My own belief is that Venus was figured in the temple of Borsippa as light yellow.²

¹ Porter visited Birs-i-Nimrud in 1829, and he notices that the wall of fine brick presented itself in an angular form at a short distance down the slope of the mound from the summit. See *Travels*, vol. ii., p. 313.

² Rich, in describing these bricks, calls them "white, a;

I have already explained my views with regard to the sixth stage in sufficient detail. I allow fifteen feet for its altitude, about five feet of vitrified strata still forming the solid cap of the mound, and ten feet of the pile at the summit belonging, I think, to this same indurated stage. It may be objected that the whole extent of the standing pile exhibits, at present, one uniform appearance of dark, weather-beaten brickwork, and that there is no trace of its having been divided into two stages, or having supported a superstructure ; but I reply that the large detached masses of vitrified matter, now cumbering the upper platform, have most unmistakably split off from the lower portion of the pile ; that this vitrified matter is absolutely the same as that of which the platform itself is composed ; that in fact we may very well suppose the fire which was employed to vitrify the mass to have only taken full effect towards the edge, leaving the pith of the brickwork, which now forms the base of the standing pile, almost unscathed. I suppose this stage to have measured sixty-two feet square, and to have presented a dark blue appearance, the exterior surface which is now every where broken away, having been, in fact, one uniform mass of slag. The sphere of Mercury, I need only add, is everywhere represented as blue ; and there is this further curious coincidence in the present case, that the colour is sometimes especially described as a *burnt* blue, in reference, it has been suggested, to the immediate proximity of the planet to the Sun.¹

The seventh stage, which belonged to the Moon, alone remains to be considered. According to my view of the regularity of the receding platforms, the base of this stage could have measured but twenty feet square, so that, if its height were fifteen feet, as I have calculated the height of the three stages below it, it must have presented almost the appearance of a cube. The dimensions, however, of all the stages above the third are very doubtful. As the height, indeed, of the standing pile at the summit is thirty-seven feet, if my scale of elevation should be correct, there will still be, after deducting ten feet at the base of this pile for the sixth stage, and fifteen feet higher up for the seventh stage, a remainder of twelve feet of actual masonry to be

to a yellowish cast, like our Stourbridge or fire-brick." Bab. & Pers., p. 99. The Arabs, too, apply the term of *Biyaz*, بياض to the bricks in question.

¹ Norberg, in his *Sabæan Lexicon*, after noticing the *burnt* appearance of Mercury from the work of M. Abi Taleb, adds, "Sicut etiam solatus et perustus, cum ceteris planetis soli vicinior sit, a Poëtis fingitur. Dict. Poet. Stephan., p. 393." But I know not to what authority he alludes ; apparently to some dictionary of the poets, with which I am unacquainted. See the *Onomasticon Codicis Nasaria*, p. 98.

accounted for. This portion then of brickwork I propose to allot to a superstructure, or chapel, which may have crowned the pile, as in the description that Herodotus gives of the temple of Belus at Babylon—a description which, in all probability, was borrowed from this site. If such a chapel really existed, containing the “ark” or “tabernacle” of the god,¹ its height was probably fifteen feet, like that of the stage which supported it; and three feet of the side-wall may thus be supposed to have been alone broken away at the summit.

To return, however, to the seventh stage. On the front, or north-eastern side, the face of the standing pile, about half-way up, is so smooth and regular, that I can hardly doubt its representing the real external surface of the brick-wall; and here accordingly, for a space of about fifteen feet, I suppose we have the actual facing of the seventh stage, distinguished from the broken fragments of the sixth stage below, and the tapering wall of the chapel above. At the same time, it must be owned that there is no perceptible difference of colour between the supposed three divisions of the standing pile; that, in fact, the centre portion, where we have the original wall exposed, presents the same appearance as to colour as the broken brickwork above and below; and on this head a difficulty certainly exists. It must be remembered, however, that to obtain brick of the colour appropriated to the Moon, namely, a light or silvery green, was not possible. A casing of some sort must have been employed; and I fall back accordingly on the traditionary description of Herodotus, supported by the inscriptions, which often mention the *takh-lupta kassa*, or “coating of silver,” employed in the decoration of walls and pillars; and conjecture the upper stage of the temple of Borsippa to have been thus in reality encased with silver plates,

¹ The Babylonian gods appear to have each had several arks or tabernacles, distinguished in the inscriptions by the old Scythic or Hamite names which they bore from the remotest antiquity. The tabernacle itself is indicated by the same signs, which represent “a ship,” and of which the Semitic equivalent or synonym was *Elippa* (Chaldee ܐܠܝܦܐ). And some of the bilingual vocabularies exhibit complete lists of the names. The name which thus occurs in the last line but one of the third column of the great East India House inscription, in connexion with the temple of the planets of the seven spheres at Borsippa, and which is also the proper name of a river, is explained in the vocabularies as the special appellation of the ark of the god Nebo; and it may be presumed, therefore, that although the temple of Borsippa was designed and named after the seven spheres, the particular god who was worshipped there was Nebo, or Hermes, who, indeed, was supposed to have the arrangement of the heavenly bodies under his particular control.

I shall quote many notices as I proceed of the special worship of Nebo at Borsippa.

which have now entirely disappeared. This of course is a mere conjecture, but it is one to which the previous argument, and our general knowledge of Babylonian architecture obtained from the inscriptions, gives some probability.

With regard to the chapel, which I conjecture to have crowned the summit of the pile, the seventh stage being entirely covered by it, I would, firstly, refer to the account of Herodotus, which states that the "eighth" or upper tower of the temple of Belus was in reality the shrine of the god, containing the sacred bed and table of gold ; and in the second place, I would compare the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadæ, which is built on the same general plan as the Birs-Nimrud, in seven successive stages, of which the inferior are of much greater height than the upper, rising one above the other, and the seventh serving as a pedestal for the tomb.

The only other point which it occurs to me to notice is in regard to the rhomboidal series of holes which transsect the entire mass of brickwork on its two faces, and which thus cross each other at right angles throughout the building. I was at one time under the impression that the rhomboidal arrangement of the channels was similar to the general plan of the temple ; that is, that the proportional distances, vertical and horizontal, were the same in both cases. But I found, on further examination, that I could not verify this identity, the distribution of the channels being far from uniform throughout the building, and the proportions, indeed, of the temple itself being irregular, both as to the height of the stages and the breadth of the platforms.

I cannot, of course, positively assert for what purpose these transverse channels were constructed. They are generally called air-holes ; and Porter supposes them to have been designed in order to admit a free circulation of air, and thus to have assisted in drying the building. My own impression, on the contrary, is, that they were drains, being intended to carry off any moisture from rain or dew that might percolate through the upper brickwork ; and I further believe that they are especially designated in the inscription of which I shall presently give a translation, by the phrase *muzé mié*, "exits of the waters," the bulging of the brickwork, and the ruin of the ancient temple being attributed to the little care that was bestowed on them.

IV.—INSCRIPTION ON THE CYLINDER.

I now proceed to explain the inscription upon the Birs cylinders, but in a mere popular sketch, such as that upon which I am engaged, it is impossible to enter upon the many difficult questions, both of reading and etymology, which must belong to translations from a language of which, as yet, we know comparatively so little as the Babylonian. To give any completeness, moreover, to such an inquiry, it would above all be necessary to compare together the many independent documents which we possess describing the works of the Babylonian kings; as it is from the context only that we are able in many passages to ascertain the true meaning of certain words. The inscriptions to which I particularly allude, as requiring comparison for their mutual illustration, are—first, the famous slab at the East India House, which is the most perfect and elaborate of all Nebuchadnezzar's records;¹ 2nd, Bellino's cylinder (now in the possession of Sir Thom. Phillips), which is an abridgment, with much independent matter however, of the same domestic history;² 3rd, Rich's cylinder (plate 9, No. 4, of Babylon and Persepolis), recording the clearing out of the old eastern canal which supplied water to the great lake or reservoir of Babylon from the head of the Sura or Sippara river; 4th, the Senkereh cylinder,³ commemorating the rebuilding by Nebuchadnezzar of the temple of "the Sun" at *Larrak*; 5th, the Birs cylinder, of which a translation will presently be given, describing the re-edification, by the same monarch, of the temple of the "Seven Spheres" at Borsippa; 6th, the Mugheir cylinders, deposited by Nabonidus in the angles of the second stage of the temple of "the Moon" at *Hur*, when he repaired the edifice; and 7th, the great Nabonidus cylinder, unfortunately in fragments, which was also found at Mugheir, and which describes all the architectural works of that monarch in Babylonia and Chaldæa, with additional and invaluable notices of the early builders.⁴

¹ This was printed in copper plate at the expense of the East India Company, and the impressions are not uncommon.

² A fac-simile of this inscription in lithograph was published by Grotefend in 1848.

³ Found by Mr. Loftus in 1854, when excavating for the Assyrian Fund Society. There are four copies of this inscription, two on cylinders and two on bricks, but they have not yet been published.

⁴ Mr. Taylor's discovery of these cylinders during his excavations at Mugheir in 1854, is described in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XV,

I have myself carefully collated all these documents,¹ and have further consulted all the Assyrian architectural inscriptions, which are very numerous, and generally of the same tenor as the Babylonian ; so that I can hardly doubt my having arrived at the true sense of almost every expression ; but to prove the reading and etymology of every word would require a far more elaborate memoir than I am prepared at present to execute. For the benefit of other scholars, however, who are in the meantime disposed to pursue the inquiry, I give the following list of Assyrian architectural inscriptions, which are all well deserving of analysis:—1st, the Shīrgāt cylinders, containing, at the close of the historical matter, notices of the repairs of the various temples in the city of *Asshur* by Tiglath Pileser I, towards the end of the twelfth century B.C. ; 2nd, the inscriptions of the North-West Palace at Nimrud, recording the works of *Asshur-dani-bal* at Calah—the architectural notices are found both in the annals on the great monolith, and in the standard inscription of the palace ; 3rd, the broken obelisk from Koyunjik, one column of which is devoted to a record of the various works executed by the same monarch in the city of *Asshur* (Shīrgāt) ; 4th, the inscription on the sitting figure from *Shīrgāt* (B.M. series, pls. 76 and 77), recording the repairs of the same city of *Asshur* by *Shalamabar*, the son of the king last mentioned ; 5th, Sargon's inscriptions from *Khur-sabād*, and especially the cylinders lately discovered, which contain a more elaborate notice of the architectural works of that monarch than is to be found in the legends on the Bulls, though even in the latter the description is given in considerable detail ; 6th, Sargon's commemorative tablet from Nimrud (B.M. series, pl. 33), describing the thorough repair which he gave to the North-West Palace ; 7th, Sennacherib's inscriptions, both on the Koyunjik Bulls and on the cylinders, which are principally devoted to a description of the buildings of the famous palace at Nineveh ; and 8th, Esar Haddon's cylinder (B.M. series, pl. 20 to 29), the latter part of which is taken up with a detailed account of the erection of the South-West Palace at Nimrud.² When to this enumeration of *bonâ fide* architectural

part ii, page 263. It is to be hoped that the cuneiform text of all these documents will shortly be published by the British Museum.

¹ (As these sheets are passing through the press, I have consulted another cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar's in the British Museum, from the Rich collection, which recapitulates that monarch's architectural labours at Babylon, and is of value for comparison ; later still I have collated the inscription on a cylinder of Neriglissar's which is deposited in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. London, March, 1856.)

² A few only of these inscriptions, Nos. 4, 6, and 8, have been as yet pub-















records, it is added that the brick legends and the tablets, both of Babylonia and Assyria, often contain similar notices in an abridged form, some idea will be obtained of the enormous extent of the materials relating to the particular subject of the building of cities, palaces, and temples, the excavation of aqueducts and the repairs of canals, which are now available for examination. Many years must elapse before it will be possible to present all this information to the public in an intelligible form; but, in the meantime, I can conscientiously affirm that I have examined every word contained in the above mentioned inscriptions; and that there are now comparatively few names of objects or expressions which are altogether obscure.

Having given this preliminary explanation of the grounds upon which I venture to translate the commemorative record of *Birs-Nimrud*, I shall now render the inscription in English, merely adding a sort of running commentary on the difficult passages in a series of marginal notes.

The inscription commences with an enumeration of the titles of Nebuchadnezzar, and is valuable in supplying equivalents or synonyms for many of the obscure terms which occur in other documents of the same class. It is impossible that I can here enter on an analysis or explanation of these terms, which, moreover, are only of interest etymologically; but the English rendering will sufficiently indicate the division and proposed reading of the phrases. The king says:—

“I am *Nabu-kuduri-uzur*, King of Babylon;¹ the established

lished; but the original slabs, cylinders, and obelisks may be consulted at the British Museum by those who are interested in the enquiry.

¹ The meaning of this name is still subject to some doubt. I propose to render it “Nebo is the protector against misfortunes,” and would thus explain the elements of which it is composed. In the old Hamite language Nebo had three names—*Nabiu*, *Ak*, and *Pa* (or   , , and ); but the Semites adopted the uniform pronunciation of *Nabu* (  ) as is stated in one of the bilingual vocabularies. The second element, *Kuduri*, I doubtfully refer to the Arabic كُدِّرَ “to be troubled by calamity,” remarking that, as a verb, the term is constantly used in the inscriptions to denote the “discomfiture of an enemy,” while, as a noun, it implies the “tribute” imposed on a conquered country, regarded, no doubt, as a calamity. כִּדְרָא in Heb. (Job xv, 24) applied to the troubles of war, is a kindred form. The third element is certainly a participle from the root  “to protect,” as the phonetic reading of    is given in one of the vocabularies for the monogram  or .

honour of the great Gods,¹ the subduer of the disobedient man,² repairer of the temples of *Bit-Sagga'u* and *Bit-Tzida*, the eldest son of *Nabu-pal-uzur*, King of Babylon;

"Behold now,³ Merodach, my great Lord, has established me⁴ in

that there can be little doubt of its representing the 𐎠𐎢𐏁𐎢, which in Jer. xxxix, 3, is attached to the name of Nergal-sharezer, or Neriglissor, before he ascended the throne; though I put no faith whatever in the translation ordinarily given of "chief of the Magi."

¹ The epithet thus conjecturally rendered admits of no illustration from other sources, and I abstain therefore from suggesting derivations for the obscure terms employed.

² *Sakkanaru*, which is here used for the old Hamite term 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 (E. I. H. Ins. Col. 1, l. 11), is the Shaphel Benoni of *kanas*, "to obey" or "submit," and thus signifies "he who makes submit," or "the subduer," being immediately cognate with the common Assyrian participle *Vasaknis*. However the old Hamite compound term 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 may have been pronounced, there can be no doubt of its meaning; 𐎶𐎶 signified "a yoke" (*nir* in Semitic), and 𐎶𐎶𐎶 was for a root which meant "to obey," so that prefixed to the name of a God, the epithet implied "submission to," the verb being used in a neuter sense; while in other positions it was used actively, and meant "causing to submit to" or "subduing." In Assyrian 𐎶𐎶𐎶 seems to have been pronounced *ardu*, the title, 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 (Khurs. 145, 3, 12, and 151, 10, 9), being replaced by 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *ardu kanshu* in Khurs. 123, 16. In Khurs. 71, 6, the equivalent is simply 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, "my lord, the king." "To pay homage" is also indifferently expressed by 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 and 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, the phonetic reading in both cases being *epis arduti*. The root apparently answers to 𐎶𐎶𐎶, both in the neuter sense of "serving," and in the active sense of "making to serve" or "dominating." On the Senkereh cylinder, l. 2, Nebuchadnezzar calls himself 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶, *asri kanshu*, probably with the same meaning of "Lord Paramount" (*asri*, like *sar*, from 𐎶𐎶𐎶, "to rule"). The words which follow *shakkanshu* I doubtfully read as *la abkha*, comparing the root 𐎶𐎶𐎶.

³ The initiatory particle, which is written 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, *enú*, or *enuva*, in the Assyrian legends, always appears as 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶, *ninú*, in the inscriptions of Babylon. It seems to be a mere expletive, and should perhaps be rendered by "verily" rather than "behold now."

⁴ The verb, which I translate "established," should probably be always read *ibbaniva*, although the second character is more often given as 𐎶𐎶 than as 𐎶𐎶. These two characters, indeed, are not only liable to be confounded in writing, but do, I believe, actually interchange in phonetic value. In the primitive Chaldean

strength, and has urged me to repair his buildings. Nabu, the guardian over the heavens and the earth,¹ has committed to my hands the sceptre of royalty² (therefore), *Bit Saggat'u*,³ the palace of the heavens and the earth for Merodach, the supreme chief of the Gods, and *Bit Kua*, the shrine of his divinity, and adorned with shining gold, I have appointed them. *Bit Trida* (also) I have firmly built, With silver and gold, and a facing of stone ; with wood of fir, and plane, and pine, I have completed it.

"The building named 'the Planisphere'⁴ which was the tower of Babylon, I have made and finished. With bricks enriched with lapis lazuli⁵ I have exalted its head.

"Now⁶ the building named 'the Stages of the Seven Spheres,' which was the tower of Borsippa, had been built by a former king. He had completed forty-two cubits⁷ (of the height), but he

legends a vast number of derivatives occur from this root, 𐤠𐤢, which furnish a most interesting proof of the connection between the Hamite and Semitic tongues.

¹ "Heaven and earth" are always given phonetically on the Birs cylinders as 𐤠𐤢 𐤠𐤢 and 𐤠𐤢 𐤠𐤢, *shami'ê* and *irrit*, instead of appearing under the old Chaldee forms of 𐤠𐤢 𐤠𐤢 and 𐤠𐤢 𐤠𐤢.

² The *Gispa* or *Gissapa*, 𐤠𐤢 𐤠𐤢 or 𐤠𐤢 𐤠𐤢 is, I think, the mace, or sceptre, which the king holds in his hand to indicate royalty. It is spoken of in almost every inscription as being given into the king's hand by his guardian divinity when he ascends the throne ; it was sometimes made of gold (Khura. 151, 11, 11), and with it the king slays wild beasts. At one time I read the word *Gishta* (𐤠𐤢𐤠𐤢) and understood "a bow;" but a bow of gold seems an impossibility.

³ For a general notice of the temples of Babylon and Borsippa, see the subsequent chapter.

⁴ The Cuneiform name of this building is 𐤠𐤢 𐤠𐤢 𐤠𐤢, which I conjecturally render by "Planisphere," 𐤠𐤢 being explained in the Vocabularies by *temin*, "a platform," and 𐤠𐤢 𐤠𐤢 being the same word which answers to a sphere in the famous temple of Borsippa.

⁵ I still consider it doubtful whether by 𐤠𐤢 𐤠𐤢 we should understand Lapis Lazuli, or Cobalt, or some other mineral pigment ; all that can be said is that it was brought from Khorassan and applied to the decoration of bricks and tiles.

⁶ This adverb of time is usually written in the Babylonian inscriptions as 𐤠𐤢 𐤠𐤢 𐤠𐤢 ; but sometimes as 𐤠𐤢 𐤠𐤢 𐤠𐤢 or 𐤠𐤢 𐤠𐤢 𐤠𐤢, which must, I presume, mean "to-day," or "now." In Assyrian the form is 𐤠𐤢 𐤠𐤢 𐤠𐤢 𐤠𐤢.

⁷ The phrase 𐤠𐤢 𐤠𐤢 𐤠𐤢 𐤠𐤢 𐤠𐤢 𐤠𐤢 𐤠𐤢 𐤠𐤢 𐤠𐤢 𐤠𐤢

did not finish its head; from the lapse of time it had become ruined; they had not taken care of the exits of the waters, so the rain and wet¹ had penetrated into the brickwork; the casing of burnt brick had bulged out, and the terraces of crude brick lay scattered in heaps; (then) Merodach, my great Lord, inclined my heart to repair the building. I did not change its site, nor did I destroy its foundation platform;² but, in a fortunate month, and upon an auspicious day,³ I undertook the rebuilding of the crude brick terraces and the burnt brick casing (of the temple). I strengthened its foundation,⁴ and I placed a titular record⁵ in the part that I had rebuilt.⁶ I set my hand to build it up, and to finish its summit. As it had been in ancient times, so I built up its structure; as it had been in former days, thus I exalted its head.⁷ Nabu, the strengthener of his

is very important, but very doubtful. I had at one time supposed the passage to give the date of the building of the temple, explaining $\Sigma\P\P\P$, which follows the numerals, as a cycle of twelve years; but I have since found reason for reading $\Sigma\P\P\P$ as *amma*, identical with the Hebrew אמה , and for referring the measurement to the height of the original temple.

¹ *Zunnu* and *rádu* are constantly used both in Assyrian and Babylonian for rain and water, though I have been unable to find correspondents in other Semitic languages. *Zunnu* may be connected with צנן , "to be cold."

² The *temin* or *teminnu*, frequently mentioned in the description of temples, is certainly the foundation platform, though I know not the etymology. The resemblance to *τεμενω* is of course accidental.

³ *Salmu* and *shega* occur so frequently in Babylonian dates that they cannot possibly be the proper names of any particular month and day (compare E. I. H. Ins. Col. 8, l. 59). I compare *Salmu* with שׁלום , "prosperity," and *shega*, which is Hamite, is translated in the Vocabulary by *magaru*, "honour" (compare *migir*, "he who honours"); perhaps this is the true explanation of the Babylonian festival of the *Saxía*, the five intercalary days of the year being regarded with especial honour.

⁴ *Mikitta* is a rare word. I suppose it to stand for *mikinta*, and compare מכונה .

⁵ *Sithir sumiya* is literally "the writing of my name," and refers, no doubt, to the inscribed cylinders, one of which is here translated. A similar expression is used in most of the Assyrian royal autographic records.

⁶ Remark that *kishiri* is here written $\langle \text{E} \rangle \langle \text{S} \rangle \langle \text{I} \rangle \langle \text{R} \rangle$, positive proof being thus afforded that $\langle \text{S} \rangle \langle \text{I} \rangle \langle \text{R} \rangle$ is used for $\langle \text{I} \rangle$ —as $\langle \text{I} \rangle$ —often is for $\langle \text{S} \rangle \langle \text{I} \rangle \langle \text{R} \rangle$. There are many other examples also of this interchange. *Kisiri*, like the Hebrew כִּשְׁר , comes from the root כִּשַׁר , "to be right."



⁷ These two phrases are omitted on one of the cylinders, but occur almost in the same words in the inscriptions of Nabonidus.

children,¹ he who ministers² to the Gods(?), and Merodach, the supporter of sovereignty, may they cause this my work to be established for ever; may it last through the seven ages; may the stability of my throne, and the antiquity of my empire, secure against strangers and triumphant over many foes, continue to the end of time."³

The inscription concludes with a prayer, which contains many new phrases of doubtful signification; it is something, however, to the following effect:—

"Under the guardianship of the Regent, who presides over the spheres of the heavens and the earth,⁴ may the length of my days pass on in due course. I invoke Merodach, the king of the heavens and the earth, that this my work may be preserved for me under thy care, in honour and respect. May *Nabu-kuduri-uzur*, the royal architect, remain under thy protection."

¹ Comp. E. I. H. Ins. Col. 1, l. 33, and Col. 7, l. 28, &c., &c. In this title the singular *bal*, and the plural forms, *abil* and *aplu*, are used indifferently.

² In E. I. II. Ins. Col. 4, l. 18, a monogram is used for this participle, which in other passages has the phonetic power of *lakh*. On the Birs Cylinder the term employed is *sukkalu*, which also occurs on Bel. Cyl. Col. 3, l. 12;  in the latter passage, as is often the case, replacing .

³ This formula of invocation, with trifling variations, is common to all the Babylonian inscriptions. The general signification is certain; but in order to identify and explain each particular word, it would be necessary to collate all the various passages one with another, and this would be too elaborate a process for a mere marginal note.

⁴ The epithet of "*mukin puluk shami'ê va irzit*" refers, I believe, to Nebo, whose name, however, is omitted in the text.

ART. II.—*Translation of some Assyrian Inscriptions.* By
H. FOX TALBOT, Esq.

NO. I.—THE BIRS NIMRUD INSCRIPTION.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

THE last number of the Society's Journal (Vol. xvii, part 2) which has been very recently issued, has appended to it a Memoir, by Sir H. Rawlinson, on the inscribed cylinders discovered by him at Birs Nimrud.¹

I have been for some time engaged in preparing translations of many of the inscriptions which exist in the British Museum and elsewhere, with the view of offering them to the Society. Among these, I have examined the inscription of Birs Nimrud and I wish to be permitted to present my translation to the Society before I proceed to study that which was prepared, as much as five years ago, when these studies were less advanced than at present, by our master in this branch of science, Sir H. Rawlinson.

The very peculiar difficulties of this enquiry, and the somewhat shadowy nature of the evidence (as it still appears to many well informed persons) on which the Cuneiform records have been translated, seem to justify in this instance a departure from the more usual rule of proceeding, which is no doubt for a writer on any branch of literature to read and study all that has been published on the subject, or at least all that is easily accessible, up to the time of his own publication.

But in this case it is of so much importance that the vocabulary of a new language should be supported by the concurrent testimony of several enquirers who have separately deduced the meaning of the words and phrases from internal evidence, and from a large series of comparisons of various inscriptions, that I trust my method of proceeding will meet the approbation of the Society. It is in fact the mere following up of a plan which has already been approved of by the Society, and by means of which four independent translations of

¹ This now forms Art. I. of the present volume. Although it contains many excellent suggestions, I have preferred (for the reasons above mentioned) to present my translation to the Society without alteration. [May, 1860.]

M. Oppert has recently published in the "Journal Asiatique" of Paris a memoir on the Birs Nimrud Inscription, of which he claims to be the original decypherer and translator. I have not yet seen M. Oppert's paper, preferring that my version, loose and imperfect as it is, should now appear as it was originally read, rather than in the improved form which it might assume if corrected according to recent discoveries—but having thus vindicated my claim to originality and to priority in the publication of the Birs Nimrud Inscription, I shall not scruple to call in M. Oppert's aid when I resume my labours on Borsippa.

I added one foot note in 1856, while page 26 was yet merely in type, and I have also made two verbal corrections in the translation of the Inscription (*amma*, "a cubit," and *zikur* or *ziggur*, "a tower")—otherwise the paper now published is as it was sent from Baghdad in November, 1854.

C. R.

LONDON, *October 5th*, 1858.

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I have been for some time engaged in preparing translations of many of the inscriptions which exist in the British Museum and elsewhere, with the view of offering them to the Society. Among these, I have examined the inscription of Birs Nimrud and I wish to be permitted to present my translation to the Society before I proceed to study that which was prepared, as much as five years ago, when these studies were less advanced than at present, by our master in this branch of science, Sir H. Rawlinson.

The very peculiar difficulties of this enquiry, and the somewhat shadowy nature of the evidence (as it still appears to many well informed persons) on which the Cuneiform records have been translated, seem to justify in this instance a departure from the more usual rule of proceeding, which is no doubt for a writer on any branch of literature to read and study all that has been published on the subject, or at least all that is easily accessible, up to the time of his own publication.

But in this case it is of so much importance that the vocabulary of a new language should be supported by the concurrent testimony of several enquirers who have separately deduced the meaning of the words and phrases from internal evidence, and from a large series of comparisons of various inscriptions, that I trust my method of proceeding will meet the approbation of the Society. It is in fact the mere following up of a plan which has already been approved of by the Society, and by means of which four independent translations of

¹ This now forms Art. I. of the present volume. Although it contains many excellent suggestions, I have preferred (for the reasons above mentioned) to present my translation to the Society without alteration. [May, 1860.]

the greater part of the important inscription of Tiglath Pileser I. were given to the world—a circumstance which I believe has had a considerable influence in promoting more generally than before a favourable appreciation of the Cuneiform studies and discoveries.

In a pamphlet, called "Chronologie des Assyriens et des Babyloniens," which M. Oppert did me the honour to send me, I found (p. 34) a translation of the Birs Nimrud cylinder, but occupying only a page and a-half, and almost unaccompanied by critical notes. With a considerable portion of this translation I am unable to agree, but in some passages the agreement is satisfactory. With respect to a second translation, which he is said to have published in the "Journal Asiatique" of Paris, I feel it necessary to observe that I have not seen it.

INSCRIPTION.—*First Column.*

1. Nabiu-kudur-ussur sar Babel
Nabochodrossor rex Babylonis
2. ribitu kinu itut kun libbi Marduk
*rex maximus unitus firmè cordi dei Marduchi
vel optimus*
3. ishakku tsiri naram Nabiu
sacerdos summus colens deum Nabo
4. mida inga sha ana alkakat ili dandanni
*rex gloriosus quem ad celebrandas Dei omnium maximi
vel imperator laudes*
5. nasha utzuna-su
excitavit eum animus suus
6. shakanakku la abkha zanin beth shaggathu
*sacerdos sine culpâ restaurator templorum
vel purus*
7. u beth zida
et thesaurorum sacrorum
8. bal asharidu sha Nabiu-pal-ussur
filius natu maximus Nabopolassar
9. sar Babel anaku
regis Babylonis ego sum

10. *ninum¹ Marduk belni rabu*
gratia dei Marduchi domini magni
vel favor
11. *kinish ebnannima*
splendidè creavit me²
12. *zaninut-tsu ebisu wemahiranni*
sacra edificia ejus perficere me jussi
13. *Nabiu pakit kishat shamie u irtsit*
deus Nabo judex incolarum omnium cœli et terras
14. *ishapa isharti weshatmikh gatu-ya*
sceptrum justitiæ tenere fecit firmiter manum meam
15. *beth Shagathu beth-rab shamie u irtsit*
templum cultûs divini (quod est) palatium cœli et terras
(scil. in urbe Babylonis) vel domus pulcherrima
16. *subat bel ilu Marduk*
domum regis omnium deorum Marduchi
17. *beth Kua papakha bielnti-su*
(et) templum Kua ædem sanctam imperii sui
18. *kurassi namri shallarish ashdakkan*
auro lucente splendidè ornavi
19. *beth zida esansish ebusu*
ærarium sacrum de novo ædificavi
(scil., in urbe Babylonis)
20. *in kaspâ kurassi nisikti abnam*
cum argento auro pretiosis lapidibus
21. *era meshukanna erinu ?*
super lignum . . . (et) lignum cedrinum
22. *weshaklil sibir-su*
perfecti parietes ? ejus
23. *Bitti el-ki mikurat Babel*
templum sphaeræ (quod est) turris in urbe Babylone
24. *ebus weshaklilu*
ædificavi (ac) terminavi
25. *in agurri abnam zamat eilliti*
Cum lateribus politis lapidis cœrulei ? pretiosissimi

¹ or 'ninnu.'² or *regios natales mihi concessit—regem me creavit.*

7. ashar-sha la eniu, la wenakkir
(quippe) locus ejus non læsus erat non destructus erat
vel vastatus
timibel-sha
sacer lapis
ejus primarius
8. in (. . .) Shalmi in ta shaza¹
(igitur) in mense Shalmi in die festo
sive perfectionis
9. libitti-kummi-sha u . agurri-taklupti-sha
lateres formantes molem ejus et lateres pulchros vestientes eam
10. abtatti eiksiru
novos circumposui
11. mikitta-sha wevazzitsu
. . . . ejus firmiter posui
12. sidir sumi-ya
sculpta verba nominis mei
13. in kitarri abtatti sha ashkun
in fastigio novo ejus figi curavi
14. ana ebishi-sha
ad perficiendam eam
15. u wevallu rishi-sha gatu ashkun²
et coronandam summitatem ejus manum firmiter admovi
16. Nabiu aplu kinu tzukallam tsiri
Tu oh ! Nabo deus filius gloriosus summe !
17. sitluthu naram Marduk
amate à deo Marducho
18. eibshatu-ya ana damikti khadish
operibus meis in his edificiis abundè
19. natlitzu
da benedictionem !
20. malatha dara, shabie littuti
copiam ævi illustrem prolem
vel annorum

¹ 'shaga' is perhaps connected with 'shagathu,' *public worship*.

² Here the other cylinder inserts four lines, which indeed seem necessary, for otherwise the sense is truncated.

40 TRANSLATION OF ASSYRIAN INSCRIPTIONS :

21. kun guza, labari palie, sumsut nakiri
 firmum thronum longos annos triumphum super hostes
22. kashada mada yahi, ana sirikti surkam
 victoriam magnam de inimicis cum abundantia¹ tu da mihi !
23. in itali mu-ka kinu, mukin buluk
 in tutelâ tuâ gloriosâ O fundator . . .
24. shamie u irtsit
 cæli et terræ
25. yabaraku tami-ya sudur littuti
26. Bakhar Marduk sar shamie u irtsit
 O fili primogenite Marduchi regis cæli et terræ
27. abi alidi-ka eibshatu-ya sumgiri
 (cum) patre tuo qui genuit te² opera mea benigne accipe
28. kibidu muku-ya
 (et) nomen meum in quo confido
 (vel, fiduciæ meæ)
29. Nabiu-kudur-ussur
 Nabochodrossor
30. lu sar zaninan
 (qui) etiam (voco) rex fundator
 (hujus templi)³
31. Ilishakin in pi-ka
 protegas cum sceptro tuo !

The following lines are inserted on one cylinder, after line 15,
 col. 2 :—

1. kima labirim
 ut (erat) in antiquo
2. esansish abni-su
 de novo construxi
3. kima-sha tamu valluti
 (et) prout in diebus prioribus
4. wevalla risha-sha
 coronavi fastigium ejus

¹ *cum exuberantiâ, 'to overflowing.'*

² *Nebo enim Marduchi filius fuit*

³ *seu potius, 'rex colens deum.'*

TRANSLATION.

Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, the glorious Sovereign, closely united to the heart of Marduk, the great high-priest, the worshipper of Nebo, the glorious Ruler, whose soul has urged him to declare the glories of the supreme God ; the blameless Priest, the restorer of the Temples and the Sacred Treasuries ; the eldest son of Nabopolassar king of Babylon—I am he.

The favour of Marduk the Great King gave unto me a royal birth, and to me he hath intrusted the completion of his sacred edifices. And Nebo the judge of the races of heaven and earth hath the sceptre of justice placed firmly in my hand. The temple of Shagatha (or divine worship) in Babylon, which is the palace of heaven and earth and the chosen dwelling place of Marduk king of the race of the gods—and also the temple of Kua the shrine of his godhead, with plates of gold I splendidly adorned. The sacred treasury I rebuilt anew. With silver and gold and precious stones, incrusting upon planks of *meshukan* wood and cedar wood I completed its adornment.

The temple of the Sphere, which is the Tower of Babylon, I rebuilt and finished, and with slabs of the precious *šamat* stone I crowned its summit. And by his favour also, I rebuilt the temple of the Seven Spheres, which is the Tower of Borsippa, which a former king had built and had raised it to the height of 42 cubits but had not completed its crown or summit. From extreme old age it had crumbled down. The watercourses which once drained it had been entirely neglected. From their own weight its bricks had fallen down : the finer slabs which cased the brickwork were all split and rent, and the bricks which had formed its mound lay scattered in ruins.

Then the Great Lord Marduk moved my heart to complete this temple ; for its site, or foundation, had not been disturbed, and its *timibel*, or sacred foundation-stone, had not been destroyed.

In the month Shalmi, on a festival day, I replaced and renewed both the bricks of its mound and the finer slabs of its *revêtement*. Then I firmly fixed up its *mikitta* and I placed upon its *new crown* the sculptured inscriptions of my name. For its summit, and its upper story I made . . . like the old ones.—I rebuilt entirely this upper portion and I made its crown or summit as it had been planned in former days.

Then do thou, O Nebo, divine son of the supreme deity, thou most exalted *šukallam*, and *situlah* beloved by Marduk, bless abundantly

the work which I have done in these edifices ! and grant unto me plenty of years, an illustrious progeny, a firm throne, and a prolonged life, a triumph over foreign nations, and a great victory over my enemies. Grant these things unto me abundantly, and even to overflowing.

Under thy glorious protection, O (Nebo) who art the founder of the . . . of heaven and earth, let my days . . .

Oh eldest son of Marduk king of heaven and earth, do thou, together with thy father also, receive with favour these works that I have made. And may that name in which I put my trust—Nebuchadnezzar—and also my title of “King obedient to the gods,” be ever protected by thy holy sceptre !

COMMENTARY.

[The following abbreviations are here employed: E.I.H.—The great inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, preserved in the India House. SENK.—The inscription found at Senkereh, now in the British Museum. PHILL.—Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, now in the possession of Sir T. Phillips, Bart., lithographed by Grotefend. Gzs.—Gesenius's Hebrew Lexicon. The Latin edition, Leipzig, 1833. In order to save trouble to scholars who may wish to verify the Hebrew words which I have quoted from Gesenius, I have usually annexed to each citation the page of the Lexicon in which it is to be found.]

First Column.

Line 2. ‘ribitu’ *rex* ; whence ‘ribitut’ *regnum*, often occurs.

‘itut.’ This passage is difficult. The following remarks may perhaps throw some light upon it. In the E.I.H. inscription (IX. *ad finem*), Nebuchadnezzar says to the god Marduk “*I am the king . . . mudib libbi-ka :*” which I render *conjunctissimus cordi tuo*, for ‘wedib’ signifies *con-junxi* or *univi* in several passages.

I think our present passage ‘itut kun libbi Marduk’ has the same meaning. ‘It’ signifies *unus*, in very numerous passages. It is the Assyrian pronunciation of the Chaldee 𐎶𐎵 *unus*, which appears to have sounded nearly as the syllable *ñd* in Greek, or *heed* in English. It is well-known that the Hebrew letter 𐤅 Heth, is the same as the Greek H or *ητα*, and it occupies exactly the same place in the alphabet.¹ And whatever may have been the case in other times and places, in the Assyrian times the letter 𐎶 often sounded as the Greek H. Thus, for example, the word

¹ Between Zain and Teth in Hebrew, and between Zeta and Theta in Greek.

which the Hebrews write רחבות *streets*, is written 'rebu' or 'ribu' in the Assyrian inscriptions: 'ribati' in Bellino's cylinder, l. 62.

To return from this digression. The Hebrew possesses (derived from same root יחד *unus*) the verb יחד *to unite* (Ges. p. 417),¹ which in accordance with the previous observations may have sounded 'yîd' or 'yehîd.' I think that 'itut' is the Assyrian participle from this verb, and meant *unitus*.

Line 2. 'kun' *firmus* and *firme*, often occurs. The same in Hebrew 'kun' כון *firmavit, firmus fuit*, &c. (Ges. p. 468.) Thus 'kun guza' is *firmus thronus* in this inscription, col. II., l. 21.

'libbi' from 'lib' *the heart*. So in Hebrew, לב *cor*; in Arabic the same.

Line 3. 'ishakku' and 'shakanakku' (l. 6), both signify *sacerdos*. They seem to be words of the old Hamite language. The reader will do well to consult a very learned memoir by Dr. Hincks on the Priest-Kings of Babylon, in the "Journal of Sacred Literature," No. 16, for January, 1859, in which these two words are fully discussed.

Line 4. 'mida' *rex, vel imperator*. I think it possible that we have here the true etymology of the celebrated name of King Midas. "Mida rex" in Horace. From the same root I derive the word 'nimidi.' 'Guza nimidi' is *a royal chair of state*: there is a bas-relief in the British Museum representing Sennacherib in his 'guza nimidi,' with an inscription. It is figured in Layard's "Nineveh," p. 150: "Sennacherib sar Ashur in [guza nimidi wesibu," &c. ('wesibu' *sedens*.)

'Imga' *glorious*: an old Hamitic word. Compare E.I.H. 'rub imga' *rex nobilis*.

'Alkakak.' We find in another inscription 'alkakat gurdia' *the praises of my heroic actions*.

'dandanni' *greatest of the great*. This epithet of the supreme god Marduk often occurs.² I am in doubt whether it should not, at least in some cases, be read 'rebrebni,' because I find that word in the Chaldee of Daniel, applied to princes. (Ges. p. 921.)

Line 5. 'nasha' is *to lift on high*. Hebrew נשא (Ges. p. 689) *sustulit*,

¹ He renders it *unitus, conjunctus fuit, se conjunxit*.

² For example, PHILL. III, 2.

extulit, e.g. *vocem, vultum, oculos, animum, manum, pedes, caput*, &c. The following phrase occurs three times in Exodus, chapters xxxv and xxxvi: 'lebbi nashat-ni,' which Gesenius renders *animus meus effert me, i.e. incitat me ad aliquid*. This is very near to our phrase in l. 5, 'nasha utzuna-su,' and still nearer to what we find in E.I.H. 3, 19; 'nash-anni libbi' *my heart incited me* (to finish the temple of Shagathu). I think, therefore, that the meaning of l. 5 is well determined.

'Utzuna' *pectus*, occurs in other passages. Hebrew חֲצִוִּי 'hutzun' *sinus* (Ges. p. 362).

Line 6. 'Shakanakku' see the Note to col. II. 30.

'labkha' so in E.I.H. l. 11.

'Shagathu.' At first I supposed that the Beth Shagathu was an individual temple so named at Babylon, and that Beth Zida was another; but I have since found that in almost every great city there were buildings so named, and therefore I now think that it has the general meaning of *temple*, or place of worship. It is derived I believe from 'shagad' *to worship, fall down in adoration before an image*, &c., Hebrew שָׁגַד (Ges. p. 703), from whence, as Gesenius well observes, is derived the Arabic 'shejed' *to adore*, and 'mesjid' *a house of prayer* (which latter word has become in English *a mosque*). I find that Mr. Cureton in his *Syriac gospels*, p. xlvii, says that 'Bith Shagadtha' means *a house of worship*, and 'mashgad' is *worship*. And Castelli's *Lex. Syr.* p. 578, has 'shagad' *adoravit*.

Line 10. 'ninuv' *favor, gratia*. Hence the verb 'weninu' *I show'd. favour or mercy* (to a captive monarch).

'Belni.' At first I took this word to mean *my lord*, but I have since found that 'belnu' or 'belna' is simply *lord*. Thus we find one of the deities called 'belna of the gods.'

Line 11. 'kinish' *adverb* from 'kinu' which occurs l. 2.

'ebnu' *creavit*; 'ebn-annima' *creavit me*.

Line 12. 'wemahir' is usually *he gave a commission or command*; 'wemahir-anni' *he commanded me*.

Line 13. 'pakit' *judez*, is Hebrew פָּקִיד 'pakid' *a prefect or governor*, either civil or military (Ges. p. 837).

'kish' *gens, tribus, genus*. I am inclined to derive it from the verb 'kish,' which means in Assyrian *to divide, separate, cut off a portion or part of anything*.

Line 14. 'ishapa' sometimes 'ishpa' *sceptrum*.

'isharti' of justice, Hebrew יִשָּׁר 'ishar' justus.

'weshatmikh' is the 'sha' or causative conjugation of 'timikh' to grasp, Hebrew תִּמַּךְ 'temek' (Ges. p. 1059), whence 'weshatmikh' he caused to grasp. When the king seizes a wild beast, or prisoner in battle, this verb 'timikh' is used.

Line 16. 'subat' a dwelling, occurs continually. It is the Phœnician word 'subat' habitatio (see Gesenii "Monumenta Phœnicia," p. 427. He renders שִׁבְתָּן by habitatio ejus; the word is plainly derived from the Hebrew יָשַׁב habitare.

Line 18. 'Khurasi' is the origin of Χυρσος. In Hebrew it takes the form חֲרֻץ 'chrux' or 'kherux' (Ges. p. 368).

Line 19. 'esansish' from 'san' novus.

Line 20. 'nisikti' the etymology may be נִסִּיךְ 'nasik' princeps (Ges. p. 671), royal stones, i.e., precious stones.

'abnam' plural of 'abn' a stone, Hebrew אֲבָן.

Line 21. 'Erinu' compare Phill. III. 36. 'Erinu daliti valtu Labnanu dishti eilliti' cedar planks (δελτοι) from Lebanon's precious forests.

Line 23. 'El-ki' seems to be the divine sphere. I conjecture that 'ki' is an abbreviation for 'kikir' Hebrew כִּכָּר sphaera (Ges. p. 479). Compare Phill. I. 39, respecting this temple.

Line 27. 'ninumi.' Vide note, l. 10.

'bittas-shapta-ki' as I read it, I consider to be a rapid pronunciation (pronounced as one word) of 'bitta shapta ki' temple of the seven spheres. The first S is therefore merely euphonic. Unless we should prefer to suppose that the Assyrian language sometimes introduced an article like the Arabic 'al' and Hebrew ה or 'ha.' 'Bit-al-shapta' would then be a sort of Arabic form, which, however, the Arabs would pronounce 'bit-ash-shapta,' euphoniae causâ.

Line 29. Here M. Oppert has fallen into a very serious error, and drawn others into it, which renders it requisite to give it our consideration. The passage merely informs us that an ancient king had commenced this temple, and raised it to the height of 42 'hu,' but had failed to complete its highest story. Now the 'hu' (which seems to be an old Hamitic term), is synonymous with the amma, or cubit of the Hebrews. This is proved by two passages of the E.I.H. inscription when compared together (viz. VI. 25 and VIII. 45. This remark was first made by Dr. Hincks). This is the simple meaning; but M. Oppert supposed the passage to

mean that 42 *ages or generations of men* had elapsed since the first building of the temple, which would go far to identify it with the biblical Tower of Babel, especially as he finds in l. 32 a statement that the language of the builders became *disordered!*

Line 31. 'innamu' seems to be the Niphal of מִקַּח 'mukh' *to decay* (Ges. p. 610), whence passive 'innamuh.' Compare Senk. I. 14, where we have simply 'imu tilanish' *it had crumbled in ruin.*

Line 32. 'sutishur' is very often used for *keeping a thing in good order*, e.g. 'sutishur nisi' *the good government of men*, E.I.H. I. 44. 'mutsie mie' Hebrew 'mutza mim' מִצָּא מִמֵּי *fons aquarum* (Ges. p. 556), from 'mutza' מִצָּא *exitus*, and 'mi' מִי *water* (Ges. p. 567). Again 'mutza' is from יָצָא 'itza' *exire* (Ges. p. 435). The word is very common in Assyrian.

Second Column.

Line 1. This line is difficult. I believe that 'tzun' when it commences a sentence, signifies *their own*, or *his own*, as in that most emphatic curse in the inscription of Tiglath Pileser : "Tzun kabubut kushakka yabi ana matti-su latdi," *may his own blood-relations be the traitors who shall admit his enemies into the land!* Compare also what is said in the Annals of Ashurakbal about the revolted Assyrians who were in arms—"tapan tzun kabubu"—*against their own blood and kindred.*

'Radu' or perhaps 'uradu' I translate *a fall to the ground*,—*'ruina.'* It admits of two different etymologies in Hebrew ; one is from יָרַד 'irad' *to fall down* (*decidit, concidit*, Ges. p. 442), also *to throw down*; whence Hiphil, הִרְדִּיר 'hurid' (*dejecit*, Ges. *ibid.*)

The other verb is רָדַד 'radad' formed by reduplication from the simple רָד 'rad' *to fall to the earth*, also *to throw down* (*humi prostravit*, Ges. p. 923).

'wenathzu' *had fallen in ruin*; from 'natsah' נָצַח *to be ruined* (of cities) Ges. p. 682. 'Gallim natsim' are *desolate ruins.*

'libitu' for 'libintu' *euphoniae causâ*. From 'libin' *a brick*; Hebrew לֶבֶן.

Line 3. 'taklupti' a substantive of the T form, from 'khallupti' *a covering*. In the annals, we read in the account of battle

spoils, 'khallupti zab khallupti chatra' *armour of men and trappings of horses.*

'aptaddiru' *they were split.* T conjugation of the verb 'patar' פָּטַר, *to split* (Ges. p. 818), the same in Arabic.

Line 4. 'kum' *a mound.* Related to the Hebrew קוּם, 'kum' *surgere.*

'ishapik' *effusi sunt.* Passive of 'shapak' שָׁפַךְ, *effundere*, and in 'Niphal,' *effusus est* (Ges. 1032), said of earthworks, mounds, &c. For 'ishapik' (Senk. 15) has 'ishapku.'

'tilanish' from Heb. 'tila' *a ruin* (Ges. 388). Assyrian adverbs usually end in 'ish,' but sometimes in 'nish.' Thus we find both 'apubish' and 'abubanish' in use.

Line 6. 'weshatkanni' may be thus explained: 'weshatik' *he moved*, ('sha' or causative conjugation of 'etik' *to move*). Heb. עָתִיק, the hipil of עָתַק, which (Ges. p. 807) interprets *movit, dimovit, &c.* And thence 'weshatk-anni' *he moved unto me, 'libba' (the heart), i.e. he moved my heart* ('ana ebisi-sha') *to finish it.* With this passage may be compared E.I.H. 3, 19 'nash-anni libbi' *he excited my heart*; also E.I.H. 2, 10.

Line 7. 'la eniu.' Compare E.I.H. 8, 37, 'la enu.' *Its site was not much injured* ('la eniu'), from 'enah' עָנָה, *to injure.* (Ges. 781.)

Line 8. The rebuilding of Birs Nimrud is also given in the E.I.H. col III. *ad finem.*

I have translated 'shaga' *in die festo.* It is, perhaps, connected with 'shagathu' *public worship.* Other inscriptions seem to say that the foundation stone was laid "during the worship of the people." It is, however, possible that 'saga' may mean a *grand day* (from Chaldee 'shaga' שָׁגָה, *great* (Ges. p. 956).

Line 10. 'abtatti' may mean *new*, from עָבַט 'abat' *mutavit.* (Ges. p. 730.)

Line 13. I am obliged to Mr. Norris for pointing out that the word on the cylinder is 'kitarri.' This I render *the crown of the building*, from 'kitar' *a crown*, Hebrew כִּתָּר, Greek κίταρις and κίταρις.

'ashkun' *figendum curavi.* 'Sha' or causative conjugation of כָּוַן, 'kun' *fixum, firmum vel stabilem esse.*

Line 16. 'aplu kinu.' Here the god Nabo is said to be the eldest son of Marduk. Compare Senk. 5, where Nebuchadnezzar himself is called the eldest son ('aplu kinu' or 'bal kinu') of Nabopolassar.

Line 22. 'kashada,' *victoria, passim occurrit.*

'ana sirikti' to an overflowing extent (Ges. p. 723) ; 'sirik' סִרִּיק, *redundantia*.

'surkam.' 'Surku' merely signifies *give thou !* but 'surkam' *give thou unto me !*

In another inscription where Nabonidus prays the gods to give long life to his eldest son, Bel-sar-ussur, he says : 'Suriku tami-su,' &c. *Grant unto him length of days like the heavenly cycles, &c.*

Line 25. 'Yabaraku,' &c. This is obscure. The inscription of Nabonidus apparently has (iii. 38) a resembling passage, which I read 'Yabariku tami-ya litti sudiri sha yaati,' which seems to mean *let my days be blessed with a progeny as valiant as myself.*

Line 26. In an important passage of another inscription, some fugitives from Babylon, defeated by Sennacherib or his generals, fly to the court of the King of Susa, and address him thus : "Oh, eldest son of Umman ! ('Bukhar Umman !') send thy army to our assistance !" &c, &c. It may be observed that Umman was the great national deity of the Susians, identical, probably, with the Ammon of Egypt. And it will be remembered that among the hieroglyphics of Karnak there is a scene where the ambassadors of an Eastern nation (perhaps Babylonians or Susians) are introduced to the presence of the Pharaoh Ramses, entreating him for peace, and they commence their discourse to him, "Oh ! son of Ammon !" &c., &c.

'Bukhar' is the Hebrew 'bukhur' בֹּכֵר, *filius primogenitus*, (Ges. 147), and I think Nebo is here called "the son of Marduk," for we learn from several other inscriptions that he was considered to be the son of that deity. And בֹּכֵר is derived from בָּכַר, 'bakhar' to be first in time, to be early : applied to the first hour of the day, the first ripened fruits of the earth, &c., &c. And also in the sense *primogenitus fuit*. For this meaning Gesenius quotes Levit. xxvii. 26.

Line 27. 'sumgiri' an imperative from a verb 'magir' or 'migir.' I have rendered it *receive with favour*. In the E.I.H. Inscription, Nebuchadnezzar says to his deity, 'Mugur nish gati-ya,' *receive with favour the work of my hands*. 'Makar' to receive, seems a different word, but nearly related.

'Eibshatn' works, from 'ebsh' to work, an Assyrian form of עָבַד, 'ebd,' which meant primarily to work (*laboravit, opus*

fecit), (Ges. 726); *ex. gr.* in Exodus, **xx.** 9, "Six days shalt thou work."

'Abi alidi-ka' *cum patre tuo qui te generavit*. We must not read 'abi aliki-ka' which would be *thy deceased father*, and would be a phrase without any meaning. 'Alidi' comes from אלד, 'yalad' *generare* (Ges. 422, *genuit pater*); *ex. gr.* Psalm ii. 7, *tu es filius meus, hodie te genui* (yaldathi-ka).

I render our passage then, "Do thou, O Nebo! *with thy celestial father*, receive with favour the works which I have made."

But as the passage is an important one, I will add other testimony. In another inscription, Nabonidus addresses the Sun thus: "Thou, O Sun, *together with the god Sen, thy father*, protect the works of these three temples with thy holy sceptre!" Here the phrase is the same, 'Sen abi alidi-ka' (*cum deo Sen qui te genuit*). And shortly afterwards he addresses a goddess, the daughter of Sen, in exactly the same words, praying her to join with her father in granting their common protection to the Temples. Therefore I render our passage, "O Nebo! *with thy father Marduk*, bless these my works and protect them with thy holy sceptre!" for so the prayer concludes.

Line 28. 'kibidu' *nomen*, usually 'kibitu'; *ex. gr.* E.I.H. (X. 1), 'Kibitukka' (*in thy name*), 'riminu Marduk' (*O supreme Marduk!*), 'Bith ebus' (*I have built this temple*). 'muku' Heb. מוקד, 'muku' or 'mukua' *spes, fiducia*. (Ges. 611.)

Line 29. In this passage the king appeals to the god Nabiu to take under his special protection the royal name in which he places his trust, 'Nabiu-kudur-ussur.' Evidently for the reason that this name of good omen signifies *Nabiu protect the king!* I hope to show this on another occasion, when treating on the meaning of the royal names. But this view of the signification of the name makes the appeal to Nabiu to protect it, highly appropriate.

Line 30. 'lu sar zaninan' is then added, a phrase of some difficulty. 'Lu' means '*and moreover*.' Singularly enough I do not find any mention of this important word in the writings of Assyrian scholars. Its force and meaning are well exemplified in the following passage (exceedingly analogous to the present one) which occurs in E.I.H. (four last lines of col. IX.)

- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| 1. Anaku LU sar tzanita | <i>I am BOTH the devoted King</i> |
| 2. mudib libbi-ka | <i>closely joined to thy heart</i> |
| 3. LU shakanakku itbisu | <i>AND ALSO the pious High Priest</i> |
| 4. zanin kala makhazi-ka. | <i>the restorer of all thy temples.</i> |

This important passage should be added to those which Dr. Hincks has collected in his essay on Babylon and its Priest Kings.¹ I think 'sar tzanita' in l. 1 may refer to the king as "obeying the wishes of the gods," from Hebrew 'tzana' צָנַע *humilis, submissus fuit* (Ges. p. 868). But in Birs Nimrud, l. 30, we read 'sar zaninan' either from the same root צָנַע, and the syllable 'an' which is often used absolutely for the deity, meaning *rex Deo devotus*, or else from the ordinary verb 'zanin' to build, which would only give us the meaning of *rex constructor*. Any how it seems that the King implores Nebo, to protect with his sceptre BOTH his royal name Nebuchadnezzar and ALSO his title of 'Sar zanina.' The Assyrian kings had often two names, I believe that Sargon had the second title of "Shalmanezar," which has proved a source of much embarrassment to chronologists.

Line 31. 'lishakin' *protect thou!* The 'sha' conjugation of the verb כָּנַן 'kanan' to protect (*tuitus est : protexit*, Ges. p. 490), which has the same meaning in Arabic. The imperative 'kannah' *protect*, is found in the Psalms.

'in pi-ka' *with thy sceptre*. This prayer, or a similar one, is found in many other inscriptions. It is often changed for 'in shipti-ka' or 'shiptukka' which is equivalent. Hebrew שֵׁבֶט 'shebt' or 'shept' a sceptre (*sceptrum regis*, Ges. p. 977, No. 3). For instance, in the cylinder of Nabonidus, the god Sen is invoked to protect with his sceptre his three temples 'lishakin shipdukka.' And in another inscription of the same king, the Sun is invoked to protect the works of six temples.

This inscription determines the site of the great city of Borsippa, which was previously unknown. And when in addition to that it is remembered under what very interesting and exciting circumstances the discovery of the inscribed cylinders was made by Sir H. Rawlin-

¹ "Journal of Sacred Literature," No. 16. January 1859.

son, I think that scholars will not grudge any amount of labour that may be required for the full elucidation of their meaning. On that account I have made my commentary rather fuller and more diffuse than would otherwise have been necessary.

I will terminate this memoir by transcribing M. Oppert's version. I must add, however, that it is about three years since I received it from him, and in the interval he may have changed his opinion upon some important parts, which I certainly think cannot be sustained, of his version.

M. OPPERT'S TRANSLATION.

[From p. 34 of his "*Chronologie des Assyriens et des Babyloniens*."]]

Voici la traduction presque littérale de l'inscription de Borsippa¹, ou de la tour de Babel :—

"Nabuchodonosor, roi de Babylone, serviteur de l'Etre Eternel, qui occupe le cœur de Mérodach, le monarque suprême, qui exalte Nebo, le sauveur, le sage, qui prête son oreille aux instructions du grand Dieu : le roi-vicaire, jugeant sans injustice, qui a reconstruit la pyramide (Babil) et la tour à étages (Birs-Nimroud), fils de Nabopolassar, roi de Babylone, moi.

"Nous disons : Mérodach, le grand seigneur, m'a lui-même engendré, il m'a enjoint de reconstruire ses demeures. Nebo, qui surveille les légions du ciel et de la terre, a chargé ma main du sceptre de la justice.

"La Pyramide est le grand temple du ciel et de la terre, la demeure du maître des dieux, Mérodach. J'en ai restauré en or pur, le sanctuaire, le lieu de repos de sa souveraineté. La tour à étages, la maison éternelle que j'ai refondée et rebâtie, je l'ai construite en argent, en or et autres métaux ; en briques émaillées, en cèdre et en cyprès, j'en ai achevé la magnificence.

"Le premier édifice, qui est le temple des assises de la terre, et auquel se rattache la mémoire de Babylone, je l'ai achevé, j'en ai élevé la faite en brique et en cuivre.

"Nous disons pour le second qui est cet édifice-ci : le temple des sept lumières de la terre auquel se rattache la mémoire de Borsippa, et que le premier roi a commencé (on compte de la 42 vies humaines), sans en achever la faite, avait été abandonné depuis de longues années.

¹ Elle se trouve en ce moment au Musée britannique.

Ils y avaient proféré, en désordre, l'expression de leurs pensées.¹ Le tremblement de terre et le tonnerre avaient ébranlé la brique crue, avaient fendu la brique cuite des revêtements ; la brique crue des étages s'était éboulée en formant des collines. A le refaire, le grand dieu Mérodach a engagé mon cœur : je n'ai pas touché à l'emplacement, je n'ai pas attaqué les fondations. Dans le mois du salut, au jour heureux, j'ai ceint par des galeries la brique crue des étages et la brique cuite des revêtements. J'ai renouvelé la rampe circulaire. J'ai posé la mémoire de mon nom dans les pourtours des galeries. Comme jadis ils en avaient conçu le plan, ainsi j'ai fondé et rebâti l'édifice, comme ç'avait été dans les temps éloignés, ainsi j'en ai élevé le faite.

"Nebo, toi qui t'engendres toi-même, intelligence suprême, souverain qui exaltes Mérodach, bénis mes œuvres pour que je domine. Accorde-moi pour toujours une race dans les temps éloignés, la multiplication septuple des naissances, la solidité du trône, la victoire de l'épée, l'anéantissement des rebelles, la conquête des pays ennemis ! Dans les colonnes de ta table éternelle qui fixe les sorts du ciel et de la terre, consigne la longue durée de mes jours, inscris les naissances !

"Imite, ô Mérodach, roi du ciel et de la terre, le père qui t'a engendré, bénis mes œuvres, l'honneur de ma puissance, Nabuchodonosor, le roi qui a reconstruit ceci, demeure devant ta face."

II.—THE INSCRIPTION OF MICHAUX.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

THIS very curious inscription was discovered by the traveller Michaux in the ruins of a palace on the banks of the Tigris, one day's journey below Bagdad, not far from the site of the ancient Ctesiphon. It was brought by him to Paris, where it is now preserved. It was published many years ago in a little work entitled "*Notice des Monumens du Cabinet du Roi*," where it occupies two plates. A note (p. 71) informs us that these are taken from Millin's "*Monumens inédits*," 2 vols. 4to. Paris, 1802. This copy, though rudely executed, is tolerably exact, and is creditable to the work in which it appeared.

¹ C'est ce que la Bible nomme la confusion des langues.

Age of the Inscription.

I feel great hesitation in expressing any definite opinion respecting the age of this inscription. It contains no date; and there would be no reason to suggest one date more than another, if it were not for a singular circumstance.

The inscription relates to the gift of a field situated near the Tigris to a person who rejoices in the remarkable appellation of Khiga-ship-Marduk (or "Marduk is the good king"), who was the son of a man called In-beth-shagathu-zirashbit, which probably means "chief priest in the holy temple." Now there is in the British Museum a certain black stone, found at Za'aleh, near Babylon, and carefully dated both at the beginning and the end as having been written in the first year of King Marduk-haddon. It relates to a contract, or agreement, and is attested by several witnesses, among whom occurs this identical Khiga-ship-Marduk, son of In-beth-shagathu-zirashbit. For surely this must be the same individual whose name is found on the stone of Michaux, there being absolute identity in the spelling of the names both of father and son. And it would be too extraordinary if another father and son had these same names; and therefore, if this identity is admitted, it follows that Michaux's inscription was engraved in the reign of Marduk-haddon.

Marduk-haddon¹ was king of Babylonia about the year 1120 B.C., and was contemporary with Tiglath Pileser I, king of Assyria, as is known from the celebrated inscription of Bavian. And the language of the inscription has certainly a considerable resemblance to the inscription of Tiglath Pileser in several of its phrases.

There is, however, rather a formidable objection to the adoption of so early a date as 1120 B.C. for the inscription, namely that there occurs mention in it of a city called Kar-Sargina; and if this be the Kar-Sargina founded by Sargina, king of Assyria, about 720 B.C., it is plain that the Michaux inscription must be four hundred years later than the period above named, and must have been written in the days of a king named Marduk-haddon the Second, of whom nothing else is known. But I rather think that the first hypothesis is the true one, and that the name Sargina was much older than the monarch who reigned in 720. Indeed, I think I have remarked the name in very

¹ The name is written 'Marduk-adan-akhi,' and so it is transcribed by Rawlinson and Hincks. But I think it likely that it was pronounced Marduk-akhi-adan or Marduk-haddon, judging from the analogy of the name of 'Ashur-akhi-adan,' the Esarhaddon of our English Bibles.

old inscriptions, though I cannot at present refer to the passage. I may add that Dr. Hincks has given it as his opinion that this inscription is more than three thousand years old; he therefore considers it at least as old as the reign of Tiglath Pileser I, B.C. 1150.

The subject of the inscription is the gift of a field, part of the estate of a man named Killi, to his granddaughter—perhaps as her marriage portion. The estate seems to have lain on the banks of the Tigris. The field given was in shape like the half of a square; it was bounded on the east apparently by a high bank of earth raised by the river side to protect the land from the ravages of floods. On the north and south it was bounded by the remaining portions of the estate of Killi; and on the west by the estate of another person named Tula or Tulatza.

I have availed myself at line 9 of some remarks by Dr. Hincks on the value of the measure called the 'gar' in the "Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy," vol. 23, p. 39. And after finishing my translation I consulted that given by M. Oppert in the "Chronologie des Assyriens et des Babyloniens," page 40, and dated May, 1856. In three instances I found it advisable to adopt his translation, and these I have carefully pointed out; in all other respects I have given my translation as I obtained it by independent research.

INSCRIPTION.—*First Column.*

1. XXIV zir as bitash I lu rebtu
 24 *lineæ scriptæ ad amplitudinem unius mensuræ majoris*
2. agar ir Abna-Nebo
 agrum urbis Abna-Nebo
3. tik nahal Ami-kalkal in bith Y Killi
 juxta flumen Aquæ-magnæ in fundo viri Killi
4. hatzib mulizi
 figuræ quadrilateræ elongatæ
5. III susi anta imi shatra
 ter sexaginta (mensuræ) superius (ad) plagam Orientalem :
 vassadu
 versus

6. namar khudada
 collem, vel molem terræ aggestæ
7. III susi kita im martu
 ter sexaginta (mensuræ) inferiùs (ad) plagam Occidentalem :
 vassadu
 versùs
8. bith ¶ Tunatzu
 fundum viri Tunatzu
9. I sus L gar shakki anta im
 sexaginta (mensuræ) et 50 gar (. . .) superiùs (ad) plagam
 sidi
 borealem
10. vassadu bith ¶ Killi
 versùs fundum viri Killi
11. I sus L gar shakki anta im
 sexaginta (mensuræ) et 50 gar (. . .) superiùs (ad) plagam
 irlu
 Australem
12. vassadu bith ¶ Killi
 versùs fundum viri Killi
13. ¶ Elisut-ussur tar ¶ Killi
 vir Elisut-ussur filius viri Killi
14. ana shal ir Kar-Sarginaiti
 fæminæ urbem Castellum-Sarginæ (habitant)
15. tar-shal-su bith-khira ¶ Khiga-ship-Marduk
 ejus filia uxori viri Khiga-ship-Marduk
16. tar ¶ In-beth-shagathu-zir
 fili viri In-beth-shagathu-zir
17. ashbit ana tamu zati idan
 ashbit in sempiternum dedit
18. u ¶ Khiga-ship-Marduk
 et vir Khiga-ship-Marduk
19. tar ¶ In-beth-shagathu-zir-ashbit
 filius viri In-beth-shagathu-zir-ashbit

56 TRANSLATION OF ASSYRIAN INSCRIPTIONS :

20. ana ashkuri la rashi
in rei memoriam sempiternam
21. nish ili rabi u elisut
signa augusta deorum magnorum et dearum
22. in naepa suata itshat
in tabulâ hâc sculpsit

Second Column.

1. Im matima in arkut tami
Si aliquis in futuris diebus
2. in akhi tari imria
inter fratres (vel) filios familiæ
3. nisuti u salati
virorum aut feminarum
4. arditi u kinati
servorum aut ancillarum
5. sha bit Y Killi luhu beltarda
domûs viri Killi sive juvenis?
6. luhu ituhu luhu yamu
sive sive (quispiam sit?)
7. sha ana tabul atzib suatu
ad destructionem sculpturæ hujus
8. u natzu suthurri anni
et ruinam literarum scriptarum harum
9. itzatzu atsib suatu
abscindet aliquid (de) sculpturâ hâc
10. luhu ana il weshashraku
sive Deum¹ violenter franget
i.e., imagines deorum
11. luhu ana ziga weshassu
sive
12. luhu ana ramani-su ishakkanu
sive

¹ Sappê 'Deus' ponitur loco 'deorum.'

13. hutza mitsira u suthurra
(*vel*) *numerus linearum et literarum scriptarum*
14. weshannu
mutabit
15. nikarta kitzata
novas sculpturas
16. in tsibbi ishakkanu
super (scil. tabulâ) ponet
17. hatzib ki mulusi val nakim
figuram terræ quadrilateram elongatam non verè servatam (esse)
18. igabbu
dixerit
19. u luhu assu arrati silikti
sive cum? imprecatione (et) irrisione
20. naepa atsib suata
lapidem sculptum hunc
21. shak la shakka irba
in locum non idoneum? elevabit
22. sinu ussurti nakara akha
suas sibi tabulas figlinas novas effinget
23. timida wemaharu
figlinas (eas) in conspectu ponet
24. naepa anna weshassu
(et) tabulam hanc loco neglecto reponet

Third Column.

1. ana ami inandu
in aquis submerget
2. in (pishati) itamiru
in frustula franget
3. in abnam arbatu
in lapidem quadrabit [scil., ut edificio cuidam construendo inserviat]
4. in (ash?) isarrabu
in igne cremabit

5. wepasathu
 superficiem ejus abradet
6. Shanama ishaddaru
 (et) res alias inscribet
7. u ashar la mari
 et in locum obscurum
8. ishakkanu ; (ansh ?) suatu
 reponet virum illum
9. 𐎶 Anu 𐎶 Sin 𐎶 Bitu
 deus Anu deus Sin deus Bitu
10. u 𐎶 Makh ilu rabu
 et deus Makh dii magni
11. etzish likkilmu-su
 velut arbor sic cœdant eum
 (ferro cœditur)
12. dusut-tzu litzukhu likalliku zir-su
 patres ejus¹ abducant (et) spolient familiam ejus
13. 𐎶 Marduk bel rab aganu bella
 deus Marduk dominus magnus
14. rikitzu la padira liakli-su
 vinculis non rumpendis vinciat eum
15. 𐎶 Shemesh ditar rab (shamie) u (irtsit)
 deus Sol gubernator magnus cœli et terræ
16. la-din zirdi-su : as pulikti
 det vel tradat (eum) inimicis ejus (et) ad labores serviles
17. litzibit-zu
 captivum trahat eum
18. 𐎶 Sanna 𐎶 naru ami (shamie)
 dea Sanna dea fluviorum pluvias cœli
 illiti
 divites vel copiosas
19. ishru akilu bari lilabbitsu
 liberabit (et) fruges campi præcipites trahat
 vel emittet vel frumentum

¹ Scilicet eorum monumenta, vel forsan ossa ipsa.

20. ki (. . . .) in shaklat ar-su
agrūm ejus
21. lirtabbut
pluviis vastet, vel inundet
22. ✠ Ishtar billat (shamio) u (irtsit)
dea Ishtar regina cæli et terræ
23. tasibu ana makhar ili u swi
quæ sedet in throno in ærario Dei et regis
vel gazophylacio
[nempe in palatio sic dicto, ubi simulacrum deæ Ishtaræ conspici-
ebatur]
24. ana silikti lirtidat-su
ad pavimentum prosternat eum

Fourth Column.

1. ✠ Ninev bal bethkhira
deus Ninev filius cælestis ?
2. tar ✠ Sin tsiru
filius dei Sin sublimis
3. sutzu mitzir-su
lineas in lapide sculptas
4. u suthurra-su litzukhu
et tabulas scriptas ejus auferat
5. ✠ Gula billat rebta khirat ✠ Shomesh
dea Gula regina magna uxor dei Solis
irlu
in celo meridiano
6. tsimda la athza in tzumri-su
nexus ?
7. lishkum : daba u shirka
infligat : morbos et
8. ki ami lirat-sa
9. ✠ Yem tik rabu (shamie) u (irtsit)
deus Yem (. .) magnus cæli et terræ

60 TRANSLATION OF ASSYRIAN INSCRIPTIONS :

10. tar ➤✱ Anu gardu
 filius dei Anu potentis
11. agar-su lirkhitzu
 (in) agrum ejus fulmina mittat
12. ➤✱ sha adan tapli kallita
 Elisa ? datrix carminis potentis
 vel Dea simpliciter ?
13. bukasta lishmukh
 vaccas arefaciat
14. shira biritu
 catenis robustis
 vel cantilenis (magicis)
15. likabbir lu su
 liget aut vinciat greges ? ejus
16. ➤✱ Bushuk ilu tsiru
 deus Bushuk deus potens
17. tsuga u nibrita
 cæcitatem ? et febrem ?
18. lishkun as (. . . .)
 infigat in armenta ?
19. shal batatu ana kharripi-su
 femineas aves (ejus) in incubatione sua
20. la ibishat
 nunquam pullos excludant
21. u ili rabi
 et dii magni
22. mala in naepa anni
 nominati ? in lapide hoc
23. (. . .) sun zaburu arrat la
 irâ ? eorum conjunctâ (et) maledictionibus nullo modo
 napsuri
 solvendis
24. silikta liruru-su
 fontes aquas maledicant ei
 vel canales, rivulos
25. adi tamu zati libbussu zir-su
 ad sempiternum exarescere sementa ejus
 faciant

TRANSLATION.—*First Column.*

Twenty-four lines extending to the length of one greater 'hu' or cubit.

The field in the city Abna Nebo on the banks of the river Tigris, situated in the estate of the man Killi, in shape an elongated rectangle, 180 measures are the length of its east side, facing the high mound of raised earth. And 180 measures are the length of its west side, facing the estate of the man Tunatzu. And 90 measures are the length of its north side, facing the estate of Killi. And 90 measures are the length of its south side, also facing the estate of Killi. Elisut-ussur, the son of Killi, has given this field for ever to his daughter now dwelling in the city of Kar-Sargina, and who is the wife of the man Khiga-ship-Marduk, son of In-beth-shagathu-zirashbit.

And Khiga-ship-Marduk, son of In-beth-shagathu-zirashbit, for a perpetual remembrance of it, has carved the awful images of the great gods and goddesses upon this stone tablet.

Second Column.

If any one in future days, among the brothers or descendants of the house of Killi; any one of their men or women, male servants or handmaidens, whether he be *young* (?) or. or. in order to destroy this sculpture and to ruin these writings, shall chip off any part of this sculpture, whether it be by injuring the Divinity [*i. e.* the divine images carved on the stone], or whether it be. or whether. Or if anyone shall change the number of the lines of writing, or shall alter the sculptures and make new ones; or shall say that the form of the field has not been faithfully preserved so as to be that of an elongated rectangle,¹ or shall with accursed derision lift up this tablet so high as to be useless; or shall make a new tablet [*i. e.* fraudulently] and place it conspicuously, while this one is left in a neglected place.

Third Column.

Or who shall fling it into the river; or shall smash it in pieces; or shall square it [in order to employ it as a common building stone]; or shall burn it in the fire; or shall scrape off its surface and write on it something else; or shall place it in an obscure corner;

¹ *i. e.* Whoever shall deliberately affirm that the measurements of the field have been fraudulently set forth in the inscription.

That man may the great deities Anu, Sin, Bitu and Makh cut him down as a man fells a tree !

May they carry off the tombs of his fathers¹ and plunder the possessions of his race ! May Marduk the great-Lord bind him with fetters that cannot be broken !

May the Sun, the great Ruler of heaven and earth, give him up to his enemies, a slave condemned to forced labour !

May Sanna, goddess of running streams, let loose all the copious waters of heaven, and sweep away in ruin the corn harvests of his fields !

May Ishtar, queen of heaven and earth, who sits on her throne in the Treasury of "god and the king,"² bow him down to the very ground !

Fourth Column.

May Ninev,³ son of Heaven, child of the exalted god San, cause his sculptured tablets⁴ to be carried off by his enemies !

May Gula, the great queen, wife of the meridian Sun, inflict dire diseases on his.

May Yem⁵ the great. of heaven and earth, son of Anu the powerful, blast his fields with lightning !

May the goddess. the great enchantress, dry up his cows, and bind fast his flocks of sheep (?) by a powerful incantation !

May Bushuk, the great deity, inflict blindness and fever on his cattle (?), and may his flocks of domestic fowls prove entirely barren !

And may the great gods named on this stone, with their united anger, and with maledictions impossible to be dispelled, curse his springs of water, and for evermore burn up his seed !

COMMENTARY.—*First Column.*

Previous Remark.—M. Oppert's translation of the first line differs entirely from mine. Unquestionably I may be in error respecting the meaning ; still I hardly think M. Oppert's translation can be quite

¹ Or perhaps, the bones of his fathers.

² A palace so named, wherein was the image of Ishtar.

³ Ninev was god of war, and could cause enemies to come into the land.

⁴ These tablets were often doubtless of great value, since they constituted the monumental evidence on which the possession of lands depended.

⁵ Yem was god of the sky, and answered to Jupiter Tonans of the West.

right. I had, in fact, prepared a long argument against it. This I omit, as controversy is far from being my object; but, perhaps, at a future time, if necessary, I may revert to the subject, and mention the objections which occur to me. With respect to my own translation, I may observe that it was the custom to mention the number of lines in an inscription, lest any should be fraudulently cut off. Thus it is said on Bellino's cylinder, "the number of lines is 63," and in our present inscription (II. 13) a curse is denounced against any one *who shall change the number of the lines*, 'hutza mitsira weshannu.' My translation therefore is not an impossible one; at any rate, I give it for what it may be worth. There is, however, one remark to be made in favour of my translation which is too important to be omitted, namely, that on reference to the inscription it will be found that the four columns (though they differ slightly in length) do really contain on an average twenty-four lines each.

Line 1. 'zir' or 'tsir' I think means a *line*, the same as 'mitsir' which often occurs, as in this inscription (II. 13), and 'mishir.' For instance, in Bellino's cylinder it is said: 'mikal mishiri' *the number of the lines is 63*.

'zir' is also a *line* in another sense, viz., a lineage, race, or family; like *linea* in Latin. In Syriac a *line* (of a book) is 'sarta' from *sar*. In Greek *σείρα* is a *line*, viz., a cord or rope. In Chaldee 'sir' שִׁיר has the same meaning, *funis, catena*. It is remarkable that this word has come to be used for a *song*; but so in other languages *lines* imply *verses* or *poetry*.

'as bitash' of the extent of (one greater 'hu' or cubit); Hebrew 'pitash' פִּתַּשׁ to *extend* or *expand* (Ges. 819). Gesenius says it is the same verb as 'pishat' פִּשַׁט *per metathesin literarum*. In Arabic 'bishat' (Ges. 846).

It will give some idea of the various interpretations to which Cuneiform records are liable, if I observe that the first line of this inscription *might* be read 'nishatzir as bitash
 𐎶 hu rebtu,' and might then be translated as follows:

"It is comprised (or included 𐎶𐎵) in the extent of one larger cubit," meaning that the *inscription* is of that size. I do not place much weight upon this observation; but I see nothing contrary to the genius of the language in it. This great uncertainty arises from the unfortunate circumstance that the Assyrians used *letters* to denote *numbers*. Thus 𐎶𐎵 signifies the number 24, and is often so used; but

it is also very often used to express 'sar' 'sha' *the king who*. Similarly the first two symbols in our inscription, << >> can be read 'nish' and 'sha' respectively. The third is 'tzir' which united would make 'nishatzir.'

Line 2. 'agar' appears to be an old word, identical with the Latin *ager*. In Hebrew we find אֲכָר 'akr' *agricola*; Syriac, 'akra;' and Gesenius says, p. 54, "vide num ex eodem fonte fluxerint *aypos* et *ager*."

'Abna-Nebo.' The name may be translated *Nebo built it*; but I rather think there was an ancient king of Babylonia called 'Ebna-Nebo' or *Nebo created me*, and that this was a city named after him; for I find a king of Babylonia mentioned in the inscriptions whose name was 'Shems-ebna' *the Sun created me*.

Line 3. 'Ami-kalkal.' That this river was the Tigris can hardly be doubted; the stone having been found on the banks of that river. 'Kal' signifies *great* or *strong*, being derived probably from the Hamitic word 'gallu' *strong*; although the Hebrew supplies a sufficient etymology, viz., from קָל 'kal' or קִיל 'kil' *robur, vis, fortitudo*. The sign 𐎧𐎶𐎶𐎶 meant *strong*, and represents indifferently the sounds 'reb' 'dan' or 'kal.' The reason of this is simple enough, viz., because each of these words signified *strong* in one or other of the Babylonian dialects.

The sign 𐎧𐎶𐎶𐎶 'kal' also meant *strong*. From these remarks we are able to explain why the Tigris was called the river 𐎧𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 'kal-kal' which has hitherto appeared mysterious. It merely meant *the very great river*, equivalent to the river 𐎧𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎧𐎶𐎶𐎶 of the present inscription. 𐎧𐎶𐎶𐎶 is used for 'maz' or 'mas' in the Van inscriptions, which makes it probable that 'maz' signified *great* in that language. Compare μέγας *major*, and the Italian *massimo*.

Line 4. 'hatzib' is the Hebrew חֲצִיב *forma, figura* (Ges. 786).

'mulizi,' or rather as it is written in Col. II. 17, 'muluzi,' means *almond-shaped*, from לִז 'luz' *an almond*, in Hebrew and Syriac, as well as in Arabic of the present day. It evidently meant a four-sided figure, much longer than broad. The comparison was a rude one, but not more so than a *rhombus*! Many other geometrical terms had a very humble origin. *Oval* is from 'ovum' an egg; *Cylinder* from κυλινδρος a garden roller; *Cone* from κωνος, the fruit of the pine tree,

also a child's whipping-top; *Cubes* from *κῦβοι*, dice; a *Globe* 'globus' or 'glomus,' meant at first only a ball of thread or wool rolled up, or anything *amassed* or collected into a heap, &c., &c.

But what is rather curious, we have retained this comparison in the English language. Our *lozenge* is derived from the Arabic 'loz' *an almond*—pronounced as *loze* in English (see Wilkinson's "Egypt"). The name came with drugs from the East in the Middle Ages,¹ and we now often say *lozenge-shaped* where *rhomboidal* would be the correct term; and even the grave science of Heraldry makes a spinster bear her coat of arms in a *lozenge*.

Line 5. 'vassadu.' Perhaps this word was pronounced 'sussad,' for in Sargon's inscriptions it is not used, while the word 'shasid' is always used in the same sense.








Line 6. 'namir' or 'namar' may be a hill or mound. High hills appear to have been called 'namri,' and if inhabited 'asib namratsi' *high places* or *dwelling*s. There was also a warlike nation called the 'Namri;' but I believe it meant *Highlanders* in general. High tops of mountains were called 'amri' whence the name of the Amorites in Palestine.

'khudad' כַּדָּד (Gen. 465) means both in Hebrew and Arabic *to work very laboriously in digging earth*.

Line 9. Dr. Hincks says the 'gar' was three-fifths of the 'amma' or cubit; consequently 50 'gar' are equal to 30 cubits. The east and west sides of the field were 3 × 60, or 180 measures long; the north and south sides 60 + 30, or 90 measures; consequently the length of the field was twice its breadth.

Line 13. 'Elisut-ussur' may mean *the goddesses protect him*. I believe that 'Elisa' meant *a goddess*. Herodotus says that Venus was called by the Arabians *Αλιττα*, which, in another dialect, is *Αλισσα* (as *μλισσα* is *μελιττα* in Doric).

'tar.' Various words are used for *son* in Assyrian, as 'tar, bal, abil or ablu, sib,' &c. When the word is expressed by a symbol it may be read in any of these ways.

Line 14. I owe the explanation of this passage to M. Oppert's translation. 'Kar-Sarginaya' means *an inhabitant of the city Kar-Sargina*. Such Gentile names in   are extremely common; but here we have an ending in     .

¹ Along with many medical terms, as *elixir*, &c. Scaliger's derivation of *lozenge* from its shape, like a *laurel* leaf, is bad.

or 'aiti,' which, according to M. Oppert, means a *female inhabitant* of the same place. This seems satisfactory.

- Line 15. 'bith khira' literally *housewife*, from 'bith' a *house*, and 'khira' a *wife*. Similarly a queen is called "the lady of the palace and wife of King....." (statue of Nebo in the British Museum).

'khiga' *good*, 'ship' *king*. The name of the father is difficult to understand.

Perhaps 'zir' is put for 'tsir' the usual term for *superior*, and 'ash bit' is *vir templi*, so that the name may mean "chief priest, or minister, of the holy temple."

- Line 20. In this passage also I have followed M. Oppert, who translates *souvenir ineffaçable*. I read 'ana ashkuri' for a *remembrance*. The syllable 'ash' 𐎶 is nearly effaced on the stone, but there are distinct vestiges of it remaining; 'ashkur' is from Heb. זָכַר 'zakar' a *remembrance*. The Assyrians constantly use the phrase 'ashkira nibitzu.'

'la rashi' is used here for *lasting, enduring, eternal*: literally however, I believe it may be rendered *not fleeting*; רָץ or 'rash' is *to run swiftly, to pass rapidly*. It is possible however that the word comes from 'ratsah' רָצָה *solvere* (Ges. 948), and may mean *indissoluble*. If we could suppose that 'nasha' נָשָׂה *to forget* (Ges. 692), which in Hiphil is 'hasha' הִשָּׂה, was sounded in Assyrian 'rasha,' (and stranger changes than this have taken place in Semitic words!) then we should obtain a very easy explanation of 'ashkuri la rashi' a *remembrance never to be forgotten*.

- Line 21. 'nish' Heb. נִשָּׂא any very noble object that strikes the eyes of the beholder, especially a flag or royal standard, &c., in short, *signum conspicuum* of any kind. It may here mean the *signa* or emblems of the gods, which have a rather formidable appearance, as they are sculptured at the top of the stone, enough to frighten away any depredator!

'u elisut' *et dearum*. M. Oppert makes the name of the giver of the field 'Sir-ussur' (rather 'Tsir-ussur'), and not 'Elisut-ussur.' In this he may be right. The chief objection to it is, that 'Tsir' seems an unknown deity. And he makes the receiver of the field sculpture the images, not of the 'gods and goddesses,' but of 'the great gods and the god Tsir.' But this meaning is not improbable. For the giver of the field being named 'Tsir-ussur' or *Tsir, protect me!* the

emblem of his guardian deity, would naturally claim *especial* honour.

- Line 22. 'itshat,' third person singular, from Heb. עָצַד 'etshad' (Ges. 787) *to cut or carve wood, &c., with a sharp-edged tool.*

Second Column.

- Line 1. 'Im' *if*, Heb. אִם ('am' or 'im'), Syr. et Arab. *an*, Gr. ἢ, *ean*.
See many examples of the word in Ges. p. 69.
'matima' *aliquis*, Syriac ܡܬܝܡܐ 'medem' *aliquis, quidam*.
Also *res, aliquid, quicquam, quodcunque, omne, &c. &c.* It is curious that this word, of which the etymology seems doubtful, should be so very ancient. It occurs in the inscription of Tiglath Pileser.
- Line 2. 'imria' *men, people*, Arab. 'amar' *a man*.
- Line 3. 'nisut,' plural of 'nish' *a man*; 'shalat,' plural of 'shal' *a woman*.
- Line 4. 'ardit,' plural of 'ardu' *a servant*.
- Line 7. 'tabul' *destruction*, from 'bul' *to destroy*. 'Abbul' *I destroyed*, and in the T conjugation 'attabul,' which has the same meaning.
'atsib' ܐܬܨܒ *sculpture* (Ges. 786). It is especially used to denote graven images or idols. The cuneiform writing does not distinguish between this verb and ܐܬܨܒ 'hatzib' *to engrave stone*, but expresses them both by the same signs.
- Line 8. 'natsu' *ruin, destruction*, Heb. 'natsah *to fall* (Ges. 682).
Also used in the sense of *stripping off, detrahit alicui vestem*.
'suthuri' *writings*, 'esthur' *I wrote*, 'sithir' *writing, &c.,* often occur.
- Line 9. 'itzatzu,' future of ܐܬܨܐ *to cut off* (Ges. 363).
- Line 10. 'ana Il weshashbraku' *shall break with violence the divine images*. 'Sha' conjugation of 'sharak' *to break*. I think this verb is not found in Hebrew, but we have other examples in Assyrian: for instance 'ana bith kili la isharak' *he shall not break with violence into the closed apartments*, where the verb governs the preposition 'ana,' as in the present passage. (I have since however found the word in Buxtorf, p. 1549, סָרַח 'sarakh' *incidere, &c.,* are.)
- Line 13. 'hutza' *the number or divisions*, from ܠܗܘܬܐ *to divide*.
Another inscription says, "Whoever 'hutzun-su' *shall change its numbers or divisions, &c.*"

Line 14. 'weshannu' *shall change*, Heb. שִׁנְנָה 'shanna' *mutavit*. (Ges. 1025.)

Line 15. 'nikarta' may be from נָכַר 'nakar' *novus, inauditus* (Ges. 669), usually *alienus*. In another inscription we read "Bit-zu labiru inakkaru" *they changed their old dwellings for new ones*.

'kitzata' may be *carvings*, either from קָצַח or קָצָה.

Line 16. 'in tsibbi' *upon it*.

Line 17. 'hatsib.' See Col. I. l. 4.

'nakim' (Ges. 886) קִיַּם 'kim' means in Chaldee *to preserve, keep durably, or permanently*. 'La nakim' *not preserved*.

Line 19. 'silikti' may be from שָׁרַק *irridere*. That *derision* is here spoken of is not unlikely, if we compare the inscription of Tiglath Pileser, viii. 68, where curses are hurled against whoever "in beth illan, ashar la mari 'pisirish' innakimu," "shall place my tablets with *contempt* or *derision* in some subterranean storehouse in a place where they cannot be seen." 'Pisirish' being from the Syriac 'beeser' *to show contempt or envy* (Castelli, p. 108). 'Beth illan' *a treasury*, usually under ground; unless indeed 'illan' here means *behind*, as it does in some passages, so that 'bith illan' would be some out-of-the-way building.

Line 21. 'shak' and 'la shakka.' Perhaps (Ges. 1036) שָׁקַע *sedes*: 'irba.' 'Irba' *elevavit* occurs frequently. Derived from רָב 'rab' *altus*.

Line 22. In this line I am disposed to read the 4th sign 𐎶𐎵 'ti' instead of 𐎶𐎵 'la.' This mistake occurs very frequently, especially in the "Standard Inscription" published by the British Museum. I think Line 22 may be read :

sinu	ussurti	nakaru	akha
<i>suas sibi</i>	<i>tabulas</i>	<i>novas</i>	<i>effinget</i>

chiefly because another inscription has :

itzirti	sinatin	nakra	akha
<i>tabulas</i>	<i>suas sibi</i>	<i>novas</i>	<i>effinget</i>

which is analogous in meaning.

'ussur,' 'utzur,' or 'itzir' was, I believe, *a clay tablet*, Heb. 'yutzur' יִצֹר, which is from יָצַר 'itzir' *to mould clay as a potter does*.

'akha' is perhaps another pronunciation of 'asha' *to make*, Heb. עָשָׂה.

Line 23. Instead of 'timida' I think we should read 'lamida.' The text will then stand thus :

lamida	wemaharu
<i>res nullius pretii</i>	<i>in conspectu ponet</i>

'lamida' worthless things, from 'la' *not* and מִלִּיד 'amid' *prized or valued*, which is from מִלִּיד 'amad' *æstimare* (Buxtorf, p. 110).

'wemaharu' *place in sight*, מִרְאָה is *sight*, from רָאָה *to see* (Ges. 615).

Line 24. 'weshassu.' This verb is used of 'leaving things behind,' and therefore of 'neglect.' *Ex. gr.* "rakab-ya ana tikkati weshassi" I *left* my chariot behind in the plains below (when I ascended the mountains).

Third Column.

Line 1. 'inandu.' In other inscriptions 'inadu.' This verb is always used of *water*.

Line 2. We find, from the Tiglath Pileser inscription, that the plural of 'ish' was pronounced 'pishati' (pieces). Probably 'ish' was an old Hamitic word which continued to be written, though otherwise pronounced.

Line 4. 'isarrabu.' Hebrew 'saraph' סָרַפ *to burn*.

Line 5. 'wepasathu.' Hebrew 'pasath' פָּשַׁט *to tear off the surface*.

Line 6. 'ishaddaru' from 'shadar' *to write*.

'shanama' *other things*, from 'shanu' *alius*. In another inscription we read "whether he be a nobleman or a military man, or 'mamma SHANU' *any one ELSE*."

Compare with our passage the closely resembling one in Tiglath Pileser, viii. 71. "Whoever shall scrape off my inscriptions and write his own name instead, or ('milima SHINA ikatzatzu') shall carve on my tablet anything ELSE." Where it may be observed that 'milima' is one of the forms of the Syriac word 'medma' *anything*. We also find 'manma ki' for *anything*. See note on Col. II, 1.

Line 7. 'mari' *visibilis*. Hebrew מִרְאָה.

Line 8. 'ishakanu.' The verb 'shakan' is used for *placing anything in lieu of another*. The king's lieutenants who governed in his absence are called indifferently 'shanut' and 'shaknut.'

This 'ishakanu' seems to be connected with 'shanna' *mutare*.

There is, however, another 'ishakanu' *he shall place*, from

'shakan' *collocavit* שָׁכַן (Ges. 1005) *et passim occurrit*. I do not know which is the word intended in the present passage ; either would serve.

Line 11. 'Etz' *arbor* עֵץ. 'Etzish' *arboris modo*.

'likilmu.' 'kilma' or 'kilba' is *an axe* in Assyrian. In Hebrew 'kilpa' כִּילְפָּה in Syriac 'kulba' (Ges. 479).

Line 12. 'dusi' is constantly used for an *ancestor*.

'likalliku' Hebrew 'kalak' *to plunder* חָלַק.

Line 14. 'rikitz' *vinculum*, Hebrew רִכֵּץ 'rikish' or 'rekeah.' This verb is commonly used in Assyrian for 'binding anything fast.'

'la padira' from פָּטַר 'patar' *to break* (Ges. 818), especially to set free, by breaking a chain or bond.

'liakli' from 'akal' עָקַל *colligare : torquere* (to twist a rope round, and bind). In this line I have adopted M. Oppert's translation : "Que Mérodach l'enchaîne dans des liens indéchirables !" For, the prayer that Marduk may bind him with strong fetters, seems in harmony with the one which next follows, viz. "that he may be sold for a slave among strangers." The עָקַל or 'akla,' when used in a good sense, was a bracelet of honour (*armilla* or *torques*) twisted round the arm. And thence it meant, any kind of fetters for the arms.

Line 16. 'din' *to give*, 'idin' *he gave*, 'ludin' *may he give*.

'zirdi-su' *strangers to him, enemies to him*. Hebrew 'zir' זִיר *peregrinus* (Ges. 298). We frequently find in the inscriptions the words 'zairi' *enemies*, and 'zirati' *hostile things*; whether words or actions.

'palikhti' *forced labour*. Hebrew פָּלַח 'palikh'; in Chaldee, *laboravit et serviit*; frequent in the Targums.

'litzibit-zu' *may he make him a slave* ! for 'litzabbīt.'

'wezabbīt' *I took captive*, is a very common word.

Line 18. 'Naru' seems the plural of 'nar' *a river*; Arabic 'nahr' Hebrew נָהָר

Line 19. 'ishru' from Hebrew שָׁרָה *solvit, liberavit*.

'akilu.' Hebrew אָכַל *fruges, frumentum* (Ges. 53.)

'bari' from 'bar' בָּר *campus*, in the Chaldee of Daniel, and in Syriac and Arabic (Ges. 171).

'lilabbīt' from 'labat' לָבַט *præcipitavit* (Ges. 520).

Line 20. 'shaklat' may be *streams, canals*, alibi 'shalkat' from 'shalakh' שָׁלַח *ductus aquæ : canalis pro irrigatione*.

ar' may be the Chaldee word אָרַע 'ara' or 'arlia' *terra*.

Line 21. 'lirtabbūt' probably from 'ratub' רָטַב *ra'n* (Ges. 935)

- Line 24. 'silikti' סִלְכִי. Gesenius says this root is obsolete in Heb., but preserved in Arabic in the sense of *via trita*.¹
 'lirtidadu' may she bow him down to the earth! is the T conjugation, from 'radad' רָדַד *ad terram prosternere*.
 Similarly we find 'lirtadu' from the simple verb רָדַד of the same meaning, as in the following passage of another inscription: "If my successor shall honour my memory, &c., may Ashur cause all nations to bow down before his throne!" 'lirtadu-su' may he bow them down. From the same root comes 'ardut' *homage paid to the sovereign, prostration on the ground before him*.

Fourth Column.

- Line 6. Perhaps diseases are spoken of: 'la athza' may mean *which will never depart*, from אִתָּזָא *abire*.
 Line 7. 'lishkum' may she smite. But perhaps the word should be 'lishabba.'
 'daba' is, I think, the Hebrew דָּבָא 'dab' *morbus* (Ges. 228), from root 'dab' *tabescere*, to waste away. Perhaps the Latin *tabes* is etymologically connected with the Hebrew 'daba.'
 'shirka' perhaps means *rotteness*, from שִׁרְקָא 'sherek' in its second meaning, as given by Buxtorf, p. 1550, *putresco*. He gives several examples, as, for instance, 'kisa shirika' *rotten wood*.
 Line 8. 'liratsa' may be *solvat*, from 'ratsah' רָצָה *solvere*.
 Line 11. 'lirkitza' *fulmina mittat*, from 'rikitz' רִיקִיט *fulmen*.
 Line 12 is obscure. I think we may read 𐤀𐤋𐤔𐤏𐤔 'elisha' a goddess, and view it as the singular of 'elisut' goddesses.
 'Adan' or 'idan' is *to give*, see Col. I. line 17.
 'tapli' may be Hebrew 'tapal' תָּפַל (Ges. 1065) *carmen sacrum, precatio, deprecatio*. Derived from פָּלַל *to pray* (Ges. 823). Buxtorf has a great deal about the 'tapli' or 'tephili' as he calls them (p. 1744). They seem to have been prayers used as charms.
 'kallita' *curses*, from קָלַל 'kallita' *maledictio* (Ges. 893), which is from קָלַל *maledicere*. 'Adan tapli kallita' *giver of prayer-charms and maledictions*.
 Line 13. 'bukasta' may be another pronunciation of 'bukarta' *cows*.

¹ Perhaps however this is the rabbinical word *Silik* 'the end.'—See Buxtorf, p. 1492.

In modern Arabic a *cow* is 'búkar,' *cows* 'bukár' merely altering the accent (Wilkinson's "Egypt"). So in Hebrew בָּקָר 'bukar' a *cow*, is both singular and plural (Gesenius), and probably they distinguished them by the *accent*, although this we do not know.

'lishmukh' *may she make dry*, from צָמַק 'tsemukh' or 'shemukh' *to dry* (Ges. 867).

Line 14. 'shira biritá' *powerful charms*. 'Shir' שִׁיר signifies in Hebrew both a *song* and a *chain*. Therefore no word can be more suited to express a magical incantation producing paralysis or loss of strength. It is the *καταδεσμος* of the Greeks, a *magic tie or knot* : a *bewitching thereby*.

'biritá' *strong*. This word is very often an epithet of chains or fetters.

Line 15. 'likabbir' *may she bind*, חָבַר 'kabar' *colligavit* (Ges. 317). He adds *vinxit* : *arte quádam magiæ*.

Line 17. These seem to be diseases, produced by the anger of the gods. 'tsuga' compare Syriac 'tsuk' *blindness* (Castelli, 754).

'nibrita' is perhaps connected with Syriac 'nebresh' *inflammatio, ardor, &c.* (Castelli, 533).

Line 18. 'lishkun' *may he smite*, the same as 'lishkum.'

Line 19. In the inscription of Tiglath Pileser and several others, we find imprecations hurled by one monarch against another, which have a certain majesty and dignity. In the minor class of inscriptions, of which this one is an example, there are also imprecations against evil-doers, but only such evils are prophesied as can by possibility befall a private individual. He is threatened, for instance, with the loss of his crops and flocks, and perhaps with bodily diseases, imprisonment, and slavery. The sun shall scorch up his seeds, and the lightning shall blast his fields. Sometimes the mischief descends lower, and is more like modern witchcraft when the fowls and cattle of a farmer are bewitched. Something of that sort was, I think, intended in this line. First we have the word [1] 'shal' *female*. Then [2] 'kharrip' *incubation*. This is another pronunciation of the word 'rakip' רָכַפּ (Ges. 934), which is the standard word in Hebrew, and especially in Syriac, for *incubation* (*incubuit pullis* : *fovit pullos*), and also for genial warmth and heat of any kind. The next word is 'ibishat,' and [3] 'bisha' is an *egg* בִּישָׁה (Ges. 142). And I think this is etymologically connected with the verb בָּקַע 'bikha' *to hatch eggs* (Ges. 168), who renders it *ovis incubuit et pullos exclusit*. Therefore,

putting these three words together, I was led to the conclusion that the curse contained in this line must be levelled against the poultry-yard of the unfortunate wrong-doer. In that case, the remaining unknown word 'battut' must be some kind of domestic fowl, as hens, ducks, geese, &c. I therefore sought for this word in the lexicons, without much hope of finding it; but I found that Castelli in his *Lexicon* (p. 91) gives the Syriac word 'Batta' a *duck*. Unless this is a purely accidental coincidence, which is unlikely, I think it confirms the translation given in the text.

Line 23. 'zaburu' collected together צָבַר (Ges. 853). The collective anger of all the gods above-named is now threatened on transgressors.

'arrat,' plural of 'arra' a curse, Greek *apa* (according to Ges. 101), which etymology seems highly probable.

'napsuri,' passive of 'pasur' פָּשַׁר (Ges. 846), which means to dissolve or remove mysteries or supernatural terrors. The 'pasura' was the interpreter of dreams, and could doubtless exorcise charms and evil spirits.

Line 24. 'silikta' water courses, Heb. שִׁלַּח *ductus aqua*.

'liruru' from 'arar' אָרַר to curse.

Line 25. 'libbussu,' from 'ebesh' עָבַשׁ to burn up (Ges. 734). This verb occurs only once in the Old Testament, viz., Joel i. 17, but is there used precisely in this sense, of the sun burning up the seed sown in the field.

'zir.' This word contains a double meaning: (1) may the gods burn up his seed and destroy his harvest! (2) may they destroy his seed (meaning his race)! This latter imprecation occurs in many other inscriptions.

Additional Note to Col. I. l. 20.—'Ana ashkuri larashi' for an indestructible record. A more satisfactory analysis can be given of this passage. The verb 'arash' אָרַשׁ means to destroy (Ges. 286). Hence 'la arash,' and by contraction 'larash' indestructible.

I will now add M. Oppert's translation (dated May, 1856) from his "Chronologie des Assyriens et des Babylonien," p. 40:—

Nous possédons encore beaucoup de documents Assyriens et Babylonien qui contiennent des résultats géodésiques. Parmi ces documents, un des plus curieux est le "caillou de Michaux," conservé à la Bibliothèque Impériale, et dont nous donnons maintenant la

traduction presque complète. Des études ultérieures rectifieront nécessairement des erreurs de détail inévitables ; mais le sens général est certain dès à présent.

TRADUCTION DU CAILLOU DE MICHAUX.

[Publiée dans le "*Bulletin Archéologique de l'Athenæum Français*,"
Mai, 1856.]

Première Colonne.

"Vingt et quarante soixantièmes (c'est le chiffre de l'homme de l'art), en grandes mesures agraires, prises dans la propriété de K . . ¹, dans le circuit de la ville de Kar-Nabou, sur le fleuve de Mi-Kaldan (Gyndès²). Voici la table du relèvement :

"Trois stades doubles regardant l'est, du côté de la ville de Khoudad.

"Trois stades doubles regardant l'ouest, touchant au champ de Touna.

"Un stade, 54 pas, regardant le sud, touchant au champ de K . .

"Un stade, 54 pas, regardant le nord, touchant au champ de K . .



"Siroussour³, fils de K . . , a donné ce terrain, en éternelle propriété, à Hisr-Sarginaït⁴, sa fille, la fiancée de Tab-achap-Mardouk⁵, fils de In-haram-ichib⁶ (suit l'emploi), et Tab-achap-Mardouk, fils de In-haram-ichib (suit l'emploi), a, en souvenir ineffaçable, commémoré la grâce des grands dieux et du dieu Sir dans cette inscription."

Seconde Colonne.

"⁷ dans ses districts, dans les frères et les fils de sa tribu, amitié et facilité des relations, affection du maître et justice. Mais celui qui attaque la propriété de K . . qui la dévaste et qui l'afflige,

¹ Ce nom n'est pas encore déchiffré.

² C'est le DIALA d'aujourd'hui ; en effet la pierre a été trouvée non loin du site de Ctésiphon.

³ "Sir protégé." Le caractère  dérivé de la forme ancienne  est un signe idéographique qui signifie 'Dieu' et 'étoile.' C'est de l'image d'une étoile que provient le signe archaïque ; ce caractère a, en outre, la valeur syllabique 'an.' Mais quand il sert de déterminatif à un nom de dieu qui entre dans un nom propre, il ne se prononce pas.

⁴ "La Khorsabadienne."

⁵ "Propice est l'augure de Mérodach."

⁶ "Il est assis dans la pyramide."

⁷ Ce passage, quoique bien conservé, est très-obscur.

qui en détruit les édifices, qui tente d'abattre cette table et de dépeupler ce district, que cette table le terrifie. Car le donataire et le donateur ont invoqué le dieu, ont déclaré la guerre à la méchanceté, ont amené devant leur maître les gens de leur canton et de leur propriété, ont renouvelé leurs vœux déjà accomplis, et ont placé au milieu cette table avec le relèvement. Ils ont prononcé et... la malédiction terrible inscrite sur cette pierre dont l'efficacité est indubitable, ont commandé ces images¹ contre lesquelles la révolte est impossible, et cet écrit qu'on ne peut changer, et ont fait graver l'inscription."

Troisième Colonne.

"Ils retireront à cet homme l'eau, ils le feront agiter par les vents, ils le cacheront dans la terre, il le brûleront dans le feu. Ils le dépouilleront, ils le renverront dans l'exil, ils le placeront dans un endroit où il ne peut vivre.

"Que Oannès, Bel-Dagon, Nisroch, et la souveraine des dieux, le couvrent de honte entièrement, qu'ils dépeuplent son district, qu'ils détruisent sa race.

"Que Mérodach, le grand maître, lui qui est mon roi, l'enchaîne dans des liens indéchirables.

"Que le Soleil, le grand arbitre du ciel et de la terre, juge selon la mesure de sa justice : qu'il le surprenne en flagrant délit.

"Que Sin (Lunus), Nannarou, qui habite les cieux des images, le puissant agitateur le frappe de fatigue dans la saison des Hyades : qu'il le fasse trembler de froid, à l'extrémité de sa ville, dans la saison du Capricorne.

"Que Istar, la souveraine du ciel et de la terre, excite à la rapine(?) le dieu et le roi ; qu'elle entraîne à sa destruction ses ennemis (?)"

Quatrième Colonne.

"Que Ninip, rejeton du Zodiaque, fils de Bel-Dagon le Suprême, enlève les habitants de son district et de son canton.

"Que Nana, la grande déesse, l'épouse du soleil hyperboréen, ôte à ses fruits leur goût et leur parfum : qu'elle noie dans les pluies son coucher et son lever.

"Que Hou (Ao), le grand gardien du ciel et de la terre, le fils d'Oannès, inonde son district.

¹ La signification n'est pas du tout prouvée.

"Que les déesses¹ détruisent sa primogéniture, qu'elles écoutent le chant de la sorcellerie, qu'elles énervent ses animaux.

"Que Nebo, l'intelligence suprême . . . affliction et terreur . . . , qu'il pousse sa femme vers son déshonneur qu'il ne pourra ôter (?).

"Et que les grands dieux dont les noms ne sont pas contenus dans cette inscription, le frappent d'une malédiction dont rien ne pourra le relever ; qu'ils dispersent sa race jusqu'à la fin de jours."

Le résultat de l'arpentage est facile à vérifier, et en réalité nous voyons que la confirmation que nous fournissent les chiffres est la plus incontestable de toutes. La terre de Siroussour présente un rectangle dont deux côtés ont 6 stades, et les deux autres 1 stade, 54 pas, c'est-à-dire 279 pas de longueur. Le contenu sera donc de $6 \times 225 \times 9 \times 31$ pas carrés. Pour exprimer cette surface en grandes mesures agraires équivalant à un carré de 360 pieds ou 135 pas de côté, il faut diviser le produit par 135². Nous aurons donc

$$\frac{6 \times 225 \times 9 \times 31}{135^2} = \frac{62}{3} = 20\frac{2}{3}$$

La propriété foncière, dont le remarquable monument de la Bibliothèque Impériale nous a conservé le souvenir, s'étendait sur le fleuve qui coule du nord au sud ; elle formait un rectangle de 1,134 et 234 mètres de côté, et sa surface était de 26^h, 57.

No. III.—THE INSCRIPTION OF BELLINO.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

In the year 1856 I printed, not for publication but for private distribution, a few pages entitled "Assyrian Texts Translated," of which I did myself the honour to present a copy to the Royal Asiatic Society. It commenced by a translation of Bellino's Cylinder, as represented at plate 63 of the first volume of inscriptions published by the British

¹ Monogramme encore à expliquer. La forme du précatif à la troisième personne du pluriel, au féminin, nous démontre qu'il s'agit ici de plusieurs déesses. Quant au dieu Hou que les Grecs expriment Αω, et qu'ils interprètent par ρό φῶς νοητὸν, la lumière intelligible, il est nommé *nantar* "le gardien," et il préserve la terre du feu et des eaux. Dans cette qualité, il préside à la construction des canaux.

Museum, in several parts of which, however, the cuneiform signs are very incorrectly and confusedly represented. Most of these imperfect parts I omitted, though of some I attempted a translation.

Some time after printing this archæological essay, I met with an engraving of the Bellino Inscription published many years ago by Grotefend, from a fac-simile made by Bellino himself, which he had presented to Grotefend. And upon consulting this I found to my surprise that many of the passages which I had rejected as obscure, were legible and perfectly clear. Had I known of this precious fac-simile sooner, I should of course have consulted it before printing my translation. But who could have supposed that a copy of any inscription, made and published so many years ago, would be so much superior to the one published by the British Museum?

I look upon this fac-simile made by Bellino, and another which he made of a cylinder now in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillips, Bart. as the most wonderful instance of patient accuracy which is to be found in the whole range of archæological science. When I consider that the language was wholly unknown to him, and the apparent confusion and crowding of the minute strokes which constitute the Cuneiform signs, and that they are written on a curved surface, to which the application of tracing paper must be difficult, it is marvellous to see with what fidelity they are all represented.

Very great credit must also be awarded to Grotefend for the accurate manner in which he has caused his friend's fac-similes to be engraved on copper. And indeed I think this was the greatest service which that painstaking savant ever rendered to the science of Archæology.

This cylinder contains the annals of the first two years of the reign of Sennacherib. Though written for the most part perspicuously, it contains some difficult passages. This translation, therefore, perhaps requires to be elucidated by additional notes, which I will take another opportunity of presenting to the Society.

THE ANNALS OF SENNACHERIB.

Sennacherib the great king, the powerful king, the king of Assyria, the king for evermore, the illustrious ruler, the servant of the great gods the restorer of works which had gone to decay, the embellisher of public buildings, the noble hero, the strong warrior,

the first of kings, the great punisher of unbelievers, who are breakers of the holy ordinances. Ashur the great Lord has given to me a kingdom that passeth not away. Over all the inhabitants of every place I have exalted my powerful arms.

At the beginning of my reign I destroyed the armies of Merodach Baladan, king of Karduniash, and of his allies the Susians, in the plain of the city of Cush. In the midst of that battle he quitted his army and fled alone to the city of Gutz-Umman, and from thence to the country between the rivers Agammi and Apparati. His bare life he saved. But all his chariots, waggons, horses, mares, mules, and camels he abandoned in the shock of battle, and I captured them. To his palace in Babylon proudly I ascended. I opened his treasure-house. Gold and silver, vessels of gold and silver, precious stones, goods and valuables to an immense amount, his wife, the female inhabitants of his palace, his chief warriors, the standard bearers who stood in front of each division of his army, and all the chief personages of his Court I carried off and distributed them as a spoil. Then I marched after him to the city of Gutz-Umman, and from thence I sent my cavalry to search for him between the rivers Agammi and Apparati. Five days they rode about rapidly, but his hiding place was not discovered. In the name of Ashur, my lord, 89 large cities and royal residences of the land of Chaldea, and 820 smaller towns I took and destroyed, and carried off their spoil. The workmen, both Aramæans and Chaldæans who dwelt in the cities of Erech, Belus, Cush, Karrishun, and Tigga, and even the princes of those cities who had been guilty of rebellion, I carried away and distributed them as a spoil.

The man Belib, son of a nobleman in the city of Suanna, who had been educated like a gallant youth in my palace, I set over them and made him king of Leshan and Akkadi.

In my return from Babylon, I subdued and captured the following rebellious tribes, viz. :

The Tumuna,¹ Rikiku, Yadakku, Hubudu, Kipri, Maliku, Gurumu, Hubuli, Damunu, Gambulu, Khindaru, Ruhua, Bukudu, Kamranu, Hagaranu, Nabatu, and Lihutahu (Aramæans all of them, and rebels).

208,000 persons, male and female ; 7,200 horses, mares, and mules ; 5,200 camels, 20,100 oxen, and 800,600 sheep—a vast spoil—I carried off to Assyria.

¹ This long list is exactly the same on the Taylor Cylinder. It therefore deserves great confidence as a synopsis of the Aramæan tribes near Babylon.

In my first¹ year, from the man "Nebo, lord of names," Chief of Ararat, gold and silver, large logs of *meshukanni* wood, mules, camels, oxen, and sheep, his great tribute I received.

The people of Kishmi, who were enemies and heretics, and for a long time had refused to bow down to my yoke, I destroyed with my arms. Not one soul escaped. That city I built again. One bull, 10 sheep, 10, and 20 animals called "strong heads" (perhaps buffaloes), to the gods of Assyria, my lords, I offered as a sacrifice.

In my second year, Ashur, my lord, giving me confidence, against the Bisi and Yassubi-galla, enemies and heretics, who from old time unto the kings, my fathers, had never submitted, I went in hostile array. In the thick forests and in the hilly districts I rode on horse-back (for I had left my two-horse chariot in the plains below). But in dangerous places I alighted on my feet, and then I climbed like a mountain goat. The city of Beth Kilamzakh, their stronghold, I took and destroyed. The inhabitants, small and great, horses, mares, mules, oxen, and sheep, from within it I drove away, and distributed them as a spoil. The smaller towns without number I overthrew and reduced them to ruins. I burned an immense building, which was the repository of their wealth, and I despoiled it of its treasures.

Once more that city of Beth Kilamzakh I erected into a strong fortress. I fortified it more strongly than it was in former days. People from the cities conquered by me, within it I placed to dwell.

The men of the Bisi and Yassubi-galla, who had fled from my arms, I drove down from the hills they had fled to, and in the city Kar-Thisbe and Beth-Kubitti I caused them to dwell. In the hands of my secretaries, who were noblemen of the city Arrapkha, I distributed them.

A stone tablet I made. I inscribed on it the tribute due to me which I imposed upon them, and I erected it in the midst of the city.

Then I turned round the front of my chariot, and I marched straight before me to the land of Illipi. Ispabara, their king, abandoned his city and his treasure-house, and fled to a distance; I swept over all his land like a great whirlwind. The cities of Marupishti and Akkupardu, his royal cities, and 34 other large cities, beside smaller towns of that province beyond all number, I destroyed and burnt them with fire. I cut down their trees, and I spread terror over all the land. The whole country of Illipi I divided into four parts. The inhabitants, small and great, male and female, horses,

¹ The preceding events occurred in *the beginning of his reign*, which was accounted a portion of the last year of the reign of Sargon his predecessor.

mares, mules, oxen, and sheep, abundantly I carried away, and I divided them among my subjects of the higher classes. The great cities of Sisirta and Kukunli, with the smaller towns in their neighbourhood, and also the whole province of Beth-Barrua, I cut off from his dominions and added them unto the empire of Assyria. I chose the city of Ilatzash to be the royal city and the metropolis of this new province; I abolished its former name. I gave it the name of the City of Sennacherib.

During my return : of the distant Medians who, in the days of my fathers, no one ever heard the name of their countries, I received their great tribute, and I caused them to bow down to the yoke of my majesty.

Now to speak of Niniveh the great city, the city which especially adores Ishtar, although every kind of worship of gods and goddesses is celebrated within it.

Its *timibel*¹ (which was destined to endure for ever) the men of old time sculptured with the figure of a dove, and they raised the buildings of the city in a pleasant place. Jewels of all sorts, the tribute of many nations, and treasures of every kind, were poured abundantly within it. And the kings of old time, my fathers, who went before me, who reigned over the land of Ashur, and governed the city of Bel².

Received from their subject kings of the four nations countless gifts and tributes which they treasured up within it.

Yet not one among them all, either began or finished a palace within the city, worthy to hold his royal throne, or suited to be his pleasant dwelling-place.

And as to the good government (or health) of their flock [i.e. their people], and the bringing of streams of clear water and overflowing fountains into the city : they neither resolved in their hearts to do so, nor did they weary themselves by undertaking that labour.

Then I, Sennacherib, King of Assyria, determined in my heart, by the will of the gods, the completion of this work. Multitudes I brought away of workmen from the land of Chaldea. And the men of Aramæa, Manna, Kue, and Kilakki, who had refused to bow down to the yoke, I carried away as slaves, and compelled them to make bricks. With the trees which I cut down in the land of Chaldea I prepared their, and by the labour of the foreign soldiers

¹ *Timibel* or *timin*, the clay cylinder placed in the foundations of a building, and accounted very sacred. Often written *timibelna* or *timinna*.

² Niniveh.

whom I had made prisoners of war, I caused them to be brought to the spot in order to accomplish this work.

The Old Palace, whose dimensions were 360 half-cubits fronting the façade of the Great Tower, 80 half-cubits fronting the handsome¹ building of the Temple of Ishtar, 134 half-cubits fronting the handsome building of the Temple of Bar-Muri, and 95 half-cubits [*in the remaining² direction*], which the kings, my fathers, who went before me, began to build for their royal residence (but had never finished it). And also the main Canal, lined with brickwork, which in *four* (?) streams irrigated the central gardens of the city, was entirely ruined. The beautiful *ki* trees which grew beside it, had all been cut down for firewood. From extreme old age, the walls of the palace were split and rent. Its base was traversed by cracks, and its foundations by wide fissures. And the place of its *timibel* was lost or destroyed. This old palace I pulled down the whole of it.

The water of the main Canal had been dried up by the heat of the sun during sixteen years. Its springs were wholly cut off from it.

But among the rocks I found a rivulet, which, falling down the mountains and over the lofty crags, unites itself with the waters of the river Sima. With these waters, which I led away, I replenished the canal very copiously.

The New Palace was of 1,700 full measures in length, and 162 in breadth, up towards the North.

Of 217 full measures, in its Central part. And of 386 full measures, down towards the South, and fronting towards the river Tigris. I completed its mound, and I measured the measure.

On a high festival, and during the worship of the people, I solemnly dedicated its *timibel*. With very large stones I fenced it around, and I fortified its place of concealment.

The written records of my own name I inscribed to the length of 160 *tibki*³ upon sculptured tablets within it. But the lower part at the bottom of the wall I left uninscribed⁴.

¹ Beth Namari. The word occurs twice consecutively.

² The sense is here truncated; the scribe, not having room for more in the line, omitted the remainder, which probably stated what building was opposite the fourth side of the palace.

³ *Tibki* is the plural of *tibik*, in Hebrew *tipik* תִּפִּיךְ, a well-known measure. Gesenius explains it *manus expansa: palma*. It comes from the verb תִּפַּח *to stretch out*. I think it was a measure of nine inches, the full stretch of the fingers, σπιθαμή in Greek. If so, Sennacherib's own inscriptions covered 120 feet of wall. But this seems too little. On the other hand, if we take it to mean a full stretch of the arms (ὀπρῦα of the Greeks, from ὀρεγειν) or six feet, the sculptures must have extended over 960 feet, which seems too much.

⁴ Or, I left to the last (*akhralik*).

I brought away many sculptures from the old building : and 20 *tibki* in length were preserved of *the records of the late sovereign* (?). So that I collected (or displayed) 180 *tibki* altogether. I raised its summit higher than it was in former days. Beyond the measure of the former palace I enlarged it, and I spread out and widened its *buildings* (?) A grand suite of seven halls or chambers, one of which was wainscoted with ivory, the others with precious woods, called *dan* wood, *ku* wood, *meshukanni*, cedar, *shurnish*, and *butani*; for my royal apartments I constructed within it.

With fine *shar* trees grown in the lower part of Mount Hermon, which all carpenters who are skilled in the construction of wells call the very best trees which are to be had in the country, or in Chaldaea either, I constructed their *ita*¹. And I made clear wells in places of the plain, more than forty in number, and having excavated them thoroughly, I gave them to the people of Niniveh, to be their own property for ever. As to the wells which were supplied with water brought from the high district of Kitsir to the plain of Niniveh in pipes, I made a change in them. I cut off that supply. But I brought a stream of perennially flowing waters the distance of half a *kasbu*², down from the brook Kutzurra, and I brought it into those wells, so that I filled them completely.

Of Niniveh, my royal city, I enlarged all the buildings. Of its streets I renovated the old ones, and the narrow ones I widened, and I made the city as brilliant as the sun.

In future days, under the kings, my sons, whom Ashur shall call³ to the sovereignty over this land and people ; when this palace shall grow old and decay, the man who shall restore its ornaments, who shall read aloud the written record of my name, who shall make a stone altar and sacrifice a male victim, and shall then replace it in its place—Ashur will hear and accept his prayers.

THE COLOPHON.—The number of the lines is sixty-three.

In the seventh month is the birth-day (or annual festival) of the man Nebo-tzu, who dwells in the city of Zuzaban⁴.

¹ Probably a wooden casing for the interior of wells, which would be necessary in a sandy soil. And the *shar* trees, to resist the wet for a long time, must have been of the resinous *pine* genus.

² One hour's walking distance, or four miles.

³ Literally, "shall name their name."

⁴ The object of stating the number of the lines of writing was in order that no part of it should be fraudulently erased. In this instance, indeed, there could have been no motive for such a fraud. But the scribes had probably got into

TRANSCRIPTION INTO ROMAN CHARACTERS.

[Many of the Assyrian words are expressed by symbols, and it is uncertain how they were pronounced. Some of these I have transcribed by Latin words, and placed them in a parenthesis.]

1. LXIII mikal mishiri. Arkhi sibuti limmu ¶ Nebo-tzu anshi sha ir Zuzaban.
2. SENAKHIRBA sar rab, sar dannu, sar Ashur-ki, sar la shanan, ribitu namdanu, pata ili rabi :
3. nateir ikti rahim mishari, epish utzati alik ganaki, tsakiru damgati.
4. itlu buli, zikaru gardu, asharaddan malki, rabbu lahit la magiri mushipriku zamani.
5. ASHUR bilu rabu sarut la shanan weshatlima annima. Eli gimir asib pa shalki wesarba eskuti-ya.
6. In resh sarti-ya, sha ¶ Marduk-bal-adanna sar Karduniash a-l ummanati Nuvaki in tamirti Kush-ki ashtakan sisi-su.
7. In kabal takhari suatu etzib killat-zu, edish ipparsidu, ana ir Gutzummani innabit, kireb (*nari*) Agammi u Apparati erumma napsishtu ekhir.
8. (*Rakabi*) sumbi (*shatra*) susi (.) gammali u parri, sha in yekrup takhazi wemashiru, iksuda suti-ya.
9. Ana bit-rab-su sha kireb Babel-ki khadish erumma : aptiu beth nitzirti-su : khurassi, kaspā : hunut khurassi kaspā : agartu sutaksu, shasu, shaga, nitsirtu kabittu ;
10. shallat-zu ; shal (.) beth-rab-su ; (*nisi*) kallati ; (*nisi*) nishza, ash pani sikhirti ummani malvasu ; namtap-billutu bit-rab, weshaza-amma, shallatish amnu.

a habit of mentioning the extent of the writing. The singular nature of the concluding phrase, which is quite unconnected with the king's annals, and only concerns a private individual, I have already endeavoured to explain in the notes which accompanied my translation of the inscription of Tiglath Pileser presented to the Society in 1867. These clay cylinders, being well written and convenient to read, were probably rather expensive to prepare ; and they seem to have been frequently presented, doubtless along with many other objects, as birthday presents to various individuals, for which reason they were inscribed with their names and titles when they had any, as "Prefect of the city of Karkamish," "Prefect of the city of Lakhiri," and the day of the month which was their birthday, is mentioned.

11. Ashbitu arka-su ana ir Gutzummani. Mutakitsi-ya ana kireb (nari) Agammi u Apparati wemahiru. **𐎶** tami iparunu, val innamir ashar-su.
12. In emuk Ashur bel-ya LXXXIX (ir) dannuti bit sarini sha mat Kaldi, u DCCCXX (ir) tari sha limiti-sun, almi aksut ashlula shallat-zun.
13. Shimbi Aramu u Kaldu sha kireb (*Kabal?*) ki, Bil-ki, Kush-ki, Kharrishunu-ki, Tigga-ki, adi (*principes urbium*) bel-khiddi weshaza-amma, shallatish amnu.
14. **𐎶** Beleb tar anshi mamukut as dakhu Suanna-ki, sha kima mirani zakri kireb bit-rab-ya irbu, ana sarut **𐎶𐎶** Leshan-ki u Akkad-ki ashtakan eli-sun.
15. In tayarti-ya (*gentem*) Tuhumi, &c. [*nomina tribuum vide in versione Anglicâ*].
16. [*multa nomina tribuum*] Aramu la-kansu belkharish aksut.
17. (208,000 *homines*) zikru u shal ; 7,200 shatra ; susi ; (.) ; gammali ; ga ; 800,600 hukludie ; shallatu kabittu ashlula ana-kireb Ashur-ki.
18. In mitik girri-ya, sha **𐎶** Nebo-bel-mu kipi (ir) Khararat, khurassi, kaspâ, itz mishukkauni rabi, (.), gammali, ga, u hukludi, tamarta-su kabittu amkhar.
19. Bakhulati ir Khismi (*yabu*) aksu, sha valtu valla ana niri-ya la iknusu, in esku wewekku. Napishtu val etziû.
20. Nagu suatu ana sansuti ashbit. I ga, X lu, X (.), XX kali-marishati-su ana ili Ashur-ki, bili-ya, hukkin ebru.
21. In (*shanie*) girri-ya, Ashur belni wetakkil annima, ana **𐎶𐎶** Bisi u **𐎶𐎶** Yatsubi-gallaya (*yabi*) aksi, sha valtu valla ana sarin abut-ya la iknusu, lu-allik.
22. Kireb karshani zakruti, asib namratsi, in shatra aredu, rakab nir-ya in tikkati weshassi. Ashru rusuku in nir-ya rimanish attakhiz.
23. Ir Beth-Kilanzakh, ir dannuti-sun, almi aksut ; (*nir*) tari rabi, shatra, susi, ga, u hukludi, valtu girbi-su weshaza-amma shallatish amnu.

24. Iri-sun tari, sha niba la yeshu, abbul aggur weshasib karmi.
Beth gazab mutari tuzirti-sun in (*flammis*) akmu ; diri-su weshali.
25. Wetaru ir Beth-Kilamzakh suatu ana birtuti ashbit. Eli sha tami
pani wedannina eli (*kishir* ?). Nisi mati kishitti sut-ya as sibbi
weshasib.
26. Nisi 𐤀𐤀 Bisi u Yatsubi-gallaya sha lapan eskuti-ya ipparsidu
valu kireb mati wesharidu ; in ir Khispi, ir Beth-Kubitti
wesharsib,
27. in (*idi*) sutrish-ya bel-nam ir Arrapakha amnu sunuti. Abna
naepa weshapshu, litu kishitti suti sha eli-sun ashtakkan, tsirus-
su weshashdiru, as girbi ir valbit.
28. Pan niri-ya wetaru, ana 𐤀𐤀 Illipi ashzabit karranu illamu-ya.
𐤃 Ispabara sar-sun ir-sib-su dannuti beth-nitzirti-su wemashiru,
ana rukiti innabit.
29. Gimri mat-su (*shakti* ?) kima im kabit ashkup. Ir Marupishti ir
Akkupardu iri beth-sarti-~~su~~, adi XXXIV iri dannuti u iri tari
sha limiti-sun, sha niba la yeshu,
30. abbul, aggur, in (*flammis*) akmu. Etzi kar(rishi)-sun akshid ; eli
agari-sun sissuti nakharat atbuk. 𐤀𐤀 Illipi ana kol gimri-
sha, arbuta weshalik.
31. Nisi tari rabi vas u shal ; shatra, susi, (.), ga, u
hukludi, laminam ashlula-amma, adi la basie weshalik sunuti.
32. Ir Sisirta, ir Kukunli, iri dannuti, adi iri tari sha limiti-sun :
𐤀𐤀 Beth-Barru-nagu ana gimirti-su, valu kireb mati-su
abratu, eli mitsir Ashur-ki weraddi.
33. Ir Ilitzash ana ir sarti u dannat nagie suatu ashbitu, sum-su
makhra wenakkiru, ir Kar-Senakhirba attabi nibit-zu.
34. In tayarti-ya, sha 𐤀𐤀 Madaya rukuti sha in sarin abut-ya
mamman la ishmu zigir matti-sun, mandata-sun kabitta amkhar.
Ana niri belluti-ya weshaknitz-zunuti.
35. In tamisu, Ninua-ki makhatzu tsiru, ir naram Ishtar, sha karkar
kududie ili u ishtaroth basu kireb-su,
36. timibelnu daru u duru-s zati, sha valu valla itti sidhir burummi
itzrat-zu isshidu, subu tzindu-su

37. ashru naklu reshti-sha sutaksu lita nisiti gimir belludi
nitsirti kum-sha, sutabulu kiret-su ;
38. sha valtu valla sarin alikut makri abut-ya vallanu-ya billutu
Ashur-ki ebusu, wemahiru bahu 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 Bil,
39. u matti la sibbati tikun malki kiprat arbahi
imdanakkaru kireb-su :
40. yamu in sibbi-sun ana bit-rab girbi-su kummi ribit belluti-sha
sukkar subat tzulit-zu val ida sibbu-s, val ikzu-s.
41. Ana sutishur kutar, u takkiribati kharie (*mie*) zakab tzippati,
utzun-su val ibsiu, val ustabil karash-tzu.
42. Yaati SENAKIRDA sar 𐎶𐎵 Ashur-ki epish miri suatu ki bilim
ili in utzni-ya ebsiu. Kabitti upla-amma.
43. tebshid 𐎶𐎵 Kaldi 𐎶𐎵 Aramu 𐎶𐎵 Mannaya 𐎶𐎵 Kue u 𐎶𐎵
Kilakku sha ana niri-ya la iknusu, ashzukha-amma musikki,
weshassi sunutim ilbinu libitti.
44. Api kupie sha kireb 𐎶𐎵 Kaldi akshidu, appari-sun ukhuti in
bakhulati nakiri kishitti suti-ya weshaldida ana epish miri-sha.
45. Bit-reb makritu sha 360 𐎶𐎵 hu vas, in kutsi zami beth-
ziggurra ; 80 𐎶𐎵 hu shakki, in kutsi beth-namari beth-Ishtar ;
134 𐎶𐎵 hu shakki, in kutsi beth-namari beth-Barmuri ; 95 𐎶𐎵
hu shakki
46. sha sarin alikut makri abut-ya ana rimiti belluti-sun weshapisu,
la wenakkilu sita-sha :
47. (*canalem*) bilti agurat miru, sha in nali IV gigunie kabalti ir,
huabbitu. Itz ki makki sun nakmuti wekallimu anna su :
48. u valtu tami tsiri dikhi bit-reb ibakhu. In adan-sha muli, in
vassi-sha abbu weshipsu, weribbu timibel-sha.
49. bit-rab turra shatu ana sikhirti-sha agguru : sha (*canalis*) bilti
ashrat-shavasti sanna abbuslu, weshatshir mutzu-sha.
50. kireb katiti ashur shalki, sha shiplanu gi(ri) elanish abni pili
danni, itti (*mie nari*) Sima asib. Valtu mani weshala-annu
nabalish wetar.
51. 1700 as shukli rebti vas : 162 as shukli rebti shakki, anta im
Sidi : 217 as shukli rebti shakki, kabalti :

52. 386 as shukli rebti shakki, kita im irlu, vassadu nar Mastiggar, tala wemalli, amsukh misikta.
53. Labarish tami, in adir kishati, timibel-su laenish ashdupat : pili rabbati ashuru-su weshashkir, wedannin subuk-su.
54. Mushiri sidhir sumi-ya 160 tibki tali kireb-su althuru ; shiplann in vassi-su etzib akralik.
55. Arkanu susku tali kabiti upla-amma, XX tibki tsir makri isutzibu : 180 tibki weshakki elanish.
56. Kaspas-su il sha as tami pani wesarbi : tsir misikti bit-reb makriti weraddiu weshandila sikta-s.
57. Bit-reb ka-amsi, itz dan, itz ku, itz meshukkanni, itz *kinrat* ?, itz shurman bishli, u itz butani, bit-reb zakdi nur-ya, ana miship sarti-ya weshapisha kireb-su :
58. itz shar makku, tikut [⌒] Khamanu, sha gimir shimdi esha tsippati etzi ratlat mati u [⌒] Kaldi kireb-su karra-su, itasha ashkup :
59. ashsu zakab tsippati asib tamirti elin arpita-an ana tari Ninua-ki bilku webulliku, weshagila panussun.
60. Ana birati takmuki valtu padi ir Kishri adi tamirti Ninua-ki in akzirlati weshattaru, weshatzir (*nar*) karu :
61. [⌒] kasbu ebkaru valtu kireb (*nar*) Kutzuru, mami daruti ashar-sha weshirda kireb tsippati shatina ; weshabiba patti-sh.
62. Sha Ninua-ki ir belluti-ya subat-zu vasrabbi, ribati-su weshan labiriti, u tzukani vastadi : wenammir kima tami.
63. Ana arkut tami, in sarin tari-ya sha [⌒] Ashur ana ribitut (*mati*) u (*nisi*) inambu zigir-su : enu beth-rab shatu ilabbiru itnakhu,
64. Ankhut-sa luttish, mushiri sidhir sumi-ya likharu, (*aram lapideam*) libsu, vas lu (*victimam*) likki, ana ashri-su litar, [⌒] Ashur ikribi-su ishimmi.

OBSERVATIONS.

Line 1. 'mikal' the *number* of the lines : literally their *force* or *strength*.



'limmu' the *festival* or *birthday*.

'Nebo-tzu' *i.e.*, *Nebo is victorious*. Sargon conquered a northern king whose name was Ashur-tzu, or *Ashur is victorious*. Another king had the name of San-tzu.

For Nebo-tzu, Hincks reads Nabuliah, without giving his reasons (Trans. of R.I.A. for 1856, p. 36). But I find that in fact King Ashur-tzu is also called Ashur-liah in the same inscription, so that they were probably words of the same meaning.

Line 2. The name of the god Sen or San forms the first syllable in 'Sennacherib.' But here, instead of the name of Sen we have 'Bel-tzu' *Lord of Victory*, which was one of his chief titles.

Line 3. 'ganaki.' Perhaps read 'tabbut aki.'

Line 5.  'bilu.' This value of the sign  'bil' has not been hitherto recognised. It is also found frequently in the word 'pili' stones, of which see an example in l. 50. 'sarut lashanan' the kingdom which doth not change, or doth not pass away. From 'shanan' to change, Hebrew שָׁנַן in Pi. שָׁנָה 'shanana' (Ges. 1025).



He hath given to me an eternal kingdom. Let not this Oriental hyperbole be thought too extravagant. In the 2nd chapter of Daniel, the astrologers and Chaldeans are summoned to the king's presence: "Then spake the Chaldeans to the king in Syriac, O king! LIVE FOR EVER! Tell thy servants the dream!" (Daniel ii. 4.) This prayer or loyal wish, being quite uncalled for, shows that it was a mere customary phrase, a compliment to the king on approaching his presence. In another inscription the king asks of the gods to give him "their length of days," *i.e.*, eternal life. In the Egyptian hieroglyphics the phrase is very common "We give him the length of days of the Sun, to rule over Egypt."

'Eli gimir' *over all*, 'asib' *the dwellers*, 'pa shalki' *in every place*, 'wesarba' *I have raised on high*, 'kuti-ya' *my arms*. 'Kuti' is usually written 'eskuti.' It is doubtful whether the first syllable 'es' or 'ets' was sounded or not. It may be merely the symbol for wood and all wooden objects, for the 'kuti' were originally arrows.

Line 6. The previous lines merely constitute the preamble. The annals begin at the 6th line.

'Sha' *of*. This particle very often begins a sentence as it

does here, and until I understood this grammatical construction I found it very embarrassed. "*Of Merodach-baladan I destroyed his army.*" So in line 18, "*Of the chief of Ararat I received his great presents.*" In line 34, "*Of the distant Medians I received their great tribute.*" In line 62, "*Of Niniveh my royal city I greatly extended her buildings,*" &c. This grammatical construction is very common.

- Line 7. 'Etzib' *he left or quitted.* Hebrew עזב 'ezib' or 'etzib' (Ges. 750), *to leave, relinquish, desert, dismiss.* In this word  we find employed a very important Cuneiform sign  'tsib' which seems to have hitherto escaped the notice of Assyrian scholars. It is found also very frequently in the verb 'artsib' *I raised or built up*, viz., some great building. This is ארצב from רצפ 'ratsap' *to join stones together as a mason does.* In the Talmud *to join anything together* (Buxtorf's Lex. p. 2284). It also occurs in the word 'tzippati' *overflowing wells* (see line 41). This sign sometimes consists of four wedges ranged in a line, instead of three only.¹

'edish' *alone*, adverb, from 'ed' *one*; Chald. ܐܕ pronounced 'hed' 'hid' 'ed' or 'id.' See Note to the Birs-Nimrud Inscription, col. I. line 2.

'erumma' *nudè.* "He saved *bare life.*" In German, "er hat bloss das Leben errettet." From ערום 'erum' *nudus* (Ges. 797).

- Line 8. 'iksuda' *I captured.* 'There are many other words from the same root, as 'aksut' *I took* (sometimes *I destroyed*), 'kshatta' which is a verb of the same meaning, 'kashada' *victory*, 'kishitti' *spoil taken in battle, also acquired property, &c.*

- Line 9. 'khadish' *entirely.* In Birs Nimrud, II. 18, we find 'khadish nablitzu' *bless entirely!*

'erumma' *nudari*, *I stripped.* But there is another verb 'erumma' viz., *I ascended*, from ארום *alum esse, surgere, &c.*, and I know not which verb is here intended.

'aptiu' or 'aptim.' The sound of the last letter appears to float between u, v, m. A verb in the 1st person singular

¹ Mr. Norris has since informed me that this Cuneiform sign for 'tsib' has been long known to him. But I believe it is not in any of the published alphabets, and in printing this paper a new type had to be cut for it.

- has this letter *u* very frequently added to it. I believe it is an ancient form of *mi* or *me*, the pronoun of the first person.
- ‘nitsirta’ *royal treasures*, from ‘tsir’ a king, or the majesty of a king. When a monarch speaks of himself he says ‘tsir-ya’ my majesty.
- ‘shaga’ *valuables*, probably from ‘shaga’ שגה *magnum*.
- Line 10. ‘kallati’ *warriors*, probably from ‘kal’ an army, כל
 ‘nishza’ or ‘nishsha’ from ‘nish’ a royal standard, Heb. נִשָּׁא
 At first I took <<𐎶𐎶 for the numeral *twenty-four*, and translated “the 24 leaders or generals who commanded all his army.” But in this inscription *four* is represented by 𐎶 and not by 𐎶𐎶, see line 45.
- Line 11. ‘ashbit’ *I marched*, written ‘ashshabit’ or ‘ashzabit’ in l. 28. From 𐎶𐎶𐎶 ‘tsaba’ or ‘shaba’ to march (Ges. 851), and thence an army on the march, or simply an army. ‘Mutakhitsi’ were choice soldiers or veterans inured to war, probably named from ‘takhitz’ battle.
- ‘la innamir’ was not found. Compare the words ‘mari’ visible, ‘la mari’ invisible, ‘namar’ and ‘namri’ very conspicuous, ‘wenammir’ I made it bright, ‘namriri’ bright light, splendour, &c. To this root belongs I think the present phrase ‘la innamir,’ literally it was not seen.
- ‘Ashar’ a place. Chald. ‘athar’ אַתָּר
- Line 13. ‘belkhiddi’ probably *domini fraudis*, i.e. *fraudatores, peccatores, rebelles*, from חִדְיָה *fraus* (Ges. 333). So when Sargon forgives a suppliant monarch he says, ‘khidati-su’ his frauds or his treasons which were many, I pardoned. חַטָּאת *peccatum*, also gives a pretty good etymology of the word. And חִטָּא ‘khita’ has the same meaning.
- Line 14. This elevation of Belibus to the throne of Babylon is noticed by the classical writers. To Dr. Hincks belongs the merit, which is certainly considerable, of recognising the name in this passage.
- ‘tar anshi mamukut’ may be son of a man adorned with the ‘amuk’ or golden collar, like the Latin *Torquatus*. So that Belib was the son of a distinguished nobleman : and he “had been brought up in my palace like a gallant young man.”
- Line 16. ‘la kansu’ *rebellious, not bowing down*, from ‘kanas’ to bow

down. Compare l. 19, 'la iknusu' *they did not bow down*. From hence is derived the common word 'weshaknis' *I caused to bow down*.

'bethkarish' or 'belkarish': the reading is not certain.

Line 18. 'Nebo-bel-mu' means *Nebo lord of names*. In Babylonia we find a prince called 'Bel-mu-insha' or *Bel gave the name*. A son of Merodach-Baladan had a very similar name.

Line 19. 'Khismi' appears to have been an island in the Persian Gulf.

'yabu' or perhaps 'zairu' *enemies*: 'aksu' *heretics*.

'ezib' or 'etzib' *he escaped*. This verb in its 'sha' conjugation becomes 'weshazib' or 'weshatzib' *he saved*, which is very evidently the Hebrew verb 'shazib' שָׁצַב *to save*. This remark is important, since Gesenius (p. 992) offers no etymology of the verb 'shazib,' while the Assyrian language shows us that it is nothing else than the *causative* conjugation of 'ezib' עִזַּב. Thus it is possible that one of these ancient languages may throw great light on the other.

Line 20. 'kali-marishati-sun' *their heads are strong*. This is the name of the animal. 'Marish' *a head*. In other inscriptions we find 'marish-su akush' *I cut off his head*. As to the name of the animal being expressed by a sentence, we find a striking instance of the same in the epigraph of the Obelisk, where the king receives among other rare animals and valuable presents 'yabbati sha sunaya tsiri-shin' dromedaries *whose humps are double*.

'hukkin' plural of חֲקִין *victim* (Ges. 318), pronounced 'buk' in Assyrian.

'ebriu' from הִבֵּר 'eber' *dissect* (Ges. 266), "I cut up the victims and distributed them to the priests of the gods."

This verb הִבֵּר is used in grammar for dividing a word into its *members* or syllables; and in astrology of dividing the visible heavens into *portions* or *sections* (Buxtorf and Ges.)

'ebriu' the final *u* is a sign of the 1st person singular.

He had slain all the old inhabitants, but before replacing them with new colonists it was necessary to purify the city of Khismi from the taint of heresy. Therefore he ordained such sacrifices to the gods of Assyria as were accustomed to be made at the commencement of a newly built city.

Line 21. 'Yatsubi-gallaya.' The name of this tribe means *the strong-bodied race, or the tall race*: from עָצַם 'atsum' *corpus* (Ges. 788).

'yabi' may also be read 'zairi' *enemies*.

Line 22. 'karshani' *forests*, Hebrew 'karsha' *a forest* קורשא (Ges. 376).

'zakruti' *strong* or *thick*. We find 'karshani shakuti' in Tiglath Pileser, but this is perhaps a different word, and from 'shak' שך *silva densa*. 'Asib' may be translated *places*.

'rakab nir-ya' *my two-horse chariot*. 'Nir' is continually used for a *yoke*, and for a *pair* of anything. Here it means a chariot to which two horses are yoked ; which the Romans called a *biga*.

'tikkati' *loca inferiora*, Hebrew תחת (Ges. 1054).

'ashru' *places*, 'rusuku' *dangerous*.

'in nir-ya' here means *on my two feet*, a very different sense from that in which 'nir-ya' occurred previously.

'rimanish' like a 'rima' or *mountain goat*, otherwise called 'arma' in Assyrian, but 'arna' in Syriac, which is explained *capra rupicola*, and *hircus sylvestris* in Castelli, and is also the sign Capricorn in the zodiac. In Greek *apra* is a *lamb*, which can hardly be considered the same word, though the resemblance is singular.

'attakhiz' *I climbed ?* or perhaps *dismounted from my horse*, from 'takhat' תחת

Line 24. 'sha niba la yeshu' and 'sha nin la yeshu' are phrases that occur continually, meaning *a vast number*, but how great it was impossible to say. The analysis of the phrase is not yet clearly made out, it appears to be *that no one knows*. "I destroyed of small towns and villages a multitude *that no one knows*." Another explanation is that 'niba' means *number* or *reckoning* : 'sha niba la yeshu' *of which they kept no reckoning*.

'gazab' used as a preposition means *beyond* : used as an adjective it means *going beyond, surpassing, exceeding, vast, immense*.

'weshali' *I carried off as a spoil*, from 'shala' *spoil*, Hebrew של and שלל

Line 25. 'wetaru' adverb, *again, once more* : probably from the root 'tur' *to turn* טור and תור (Ges. 388). This adverb, however, comes very near to the Chaldee הדר 'hedar' *again* (Buxtorf, 599).

'eli kishir' *on a rocky height or acropolis ?* But the reading of the text is here uncertain.

Line 26. 'wesharsib' seems to be only a broader pronunciation of the usual verb 'weshasib' *I located*.

Line 27. 'belnam' *having a name, i. e. men of reputation or men of mark*.

'Arrapakha' the *Arrapachitis regio* of the Greeks.

'litu' *tribute* (?), 'kishitti suti' *due to me, literally 'the property of my hands.'*

Line 28. 'pan niri-ya wetaru' *I turned round the front of my chariot*.

This is a very common phrase, implying that the war was finished and the king going home, or else going to attack some other nation. This phrase is always followed by a complete change of subject, and by the king departing in another direction.

'wetaru' is here a verb, *I turned round*. Compare the Chaldee 'hedar' *reditus, reversio, remeatus* (Buxt. p. 599).

'ashzabit.' See line 11.

'illamu-ya' *before me*; the same as 'illanu-ya' and 'vallanu-ya.'

'Ispabara' literally *sceptre-bearer*. But as 'bara' is an Indo-Germanic and not an Assyrian word, it is possible that 'Ispabara' (from 'asp' *a horse*) may mean *the horseman*; especially since 'asbara' *a horseman*, is found in the Persian translation of the Behistun Inscription. (See Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. x. p. 124.) This would indicate that the language of the land of Illipi was Indo-Germanic.

'ir-sib-su' *the city of his seat, or dwelling*: or the city where he then dwelt.

Line 29. Perhaps we may translate 'the whole of his broad dominions I swept like a whirlwind.' I am uncertain of the reading of the word which I have transcribed 'shakti.' We find 'weshakki' used in the sense of *I enlarged a palace*.

'Im' *the wind*; when preceded by the divine sign >𐎶 it means the god IM or YEM, who ruled the sky and the winds. He was both Æolus and Jupiter Tonans.

'ashkup' *I swept*; from Hebrew שָׁקַף 'shakap' *to sweep*.

The Latin 'scopa' *a broom*, has the same origin.

'limiti' agrees exactly with the Latin *limes, limitis*, a boundary or limit. Some other Latin words are found in Assyrian, as 'anna' *for the year*, 'agar' *for a field*, &c. which can hardly be casual resemblances.

Line 30. 'eli agari-sun' *over their fields, i. e. over their whole land*.

'Agar' *a field*, Latin 'ager' Syriac 'akra' Hebrew 'akr' אֶכְרַּ agricola.

'nakharrat atbuk' *I spread terror*. (We should perhaps read 'na' for 'sha' in the text.)

'Atbuk' *I spread*; from 'tebek' טֶבֶּח *to spread*. Hence is derived the name of the measure called the 'tebek' (plural 'tibki'). It appears to have been a full stretch of the arms, or six feet.

'kol' may also be read 'pat.' Possibly the latter is correct, for I find elsewhere 'pa at' or 'pa et' for *everyone*, which if contracted or combined, would be read 'pat.'

'arbuta' *quarters*; from 'arba' *four*.

'weshalik' *I divided into portions*; from חָלַק 'shalik' or 'khalik' *a part or portion*.

Line 31. Sheep are always called 'hukludi' in this inscription, whereas in Hebrew and Syriac the word עֵגְלֹתָא means *calves*. This circumstance is explained by Gesenius, p. 735, who shows that the word meant young animals of any kind.

'la basie' *not of low degree*.

'weshalik' *I divided by lot the spoil*. Hebrew חָלַק *sorts, parts, portio, pars prædæ, præda ipsa* (Ges. 345).

'In tamisu.' This is a very common phrase; but as yet it remains unexplained. It certainly does not mean *in his days*, which would be the literal rendering of 'in tami su.' Nor does it mean *in those days*, for that would be 'in tami suatu.' It is remarkable that the phrase 'in tamisu' is almost always followed by a complete change of subject.

The sign Y— represents 'sib' as well as 'mi' therefore perhaps we should read 'in tasib-su' and not 'in tami-su.' 'In tasib-su' would mean *to return from this, i.e. to change this subject*. This would explain why the subject generally changes to another after this phrase. According to Gesenius (p. 1070), 'tasuba' is *a returning*, from the verb 'sub' שׁוּב *to return*.

'basu' is an obscure word. Perhaps it comes from 'basar' בָּשַׁר which is sometimes used of *divine worship*, omitting the final ך, for so we find both 'bukar' and 'buku' for *libations*. But a difficulty arises in this passage from our not knowing whether it means that the people of Nineveh worshipped Ishtar *in conjunction with*, or, on the contrary,


to the exclusion of all other gods and goddesses. If the latter is the true meaning, 'basu' may come from 'bazah' בָּזַח *sprevit, contempsit* (Ges. 135).

Line 36. 'timibelnu' or 'timinnu.'

'daru u duru as zati' *which was destined to last for ever and ever.*

'dar' and 'dur' (דָּר and דִּר) are both Hebrew words, meaning *ævum, sæculum, æternitas*. For instance, we read in Eccles. i. 4, 'dur alik u dur ba' *one age passeth away and another age comes*. And in many passages of Scripture we find 'dar u dar' *for ever and ever*; 'dur u dur' (the same); 'li dardar' (the same).

'sha. valtu valla' *(the men) of old time.*

'itti' *with*, 'sidhir' *a writing or inscription*, 'burummi' *of a dove*, 'iashidu' *they carved*, 'itzrat-zu' *its moulded clay*. But the difficulty of this line as well as its importance requires a further examination. 'Itti' is generally the preposition *with*; but is often confounded in cuneiform writing with a substantive (of totally different origin) 'itti' *signa*. This is the plural of 'it' or 'itta,' in Chald. אִת 'at' or 'it,' in Syriac 'ata,' which closely agrees with the Latin *signum* in all its various meanings. Thus it is often used in Assyrian for *military flags or standards*, and for *signum, prodigium, portentum, miraculum*. Thus a king says, speaking of his enemies: 'ana itti akhata ittaklu' *they trusted to the images of their false gods* (or to the wonders and miracles worked by them), and so they ventured to give me battle. In this sense 'itti' is usually written  evidently showing it to be the plural of the substantive 'it' or 'ith.' When it is not so written, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish it from the preposition 'itti' *with*, as in B.M. 13, 23, where the king describes his victory: "I took 1121 of his chariots; 'itti vasmani-su ekim-su' I captured them *together with* his camp," or else we may translate the passage "I also captured *the standards* which were in his camp." But to the uncertainty attaching to the word 'itti' is to be added that of the word 'sidhir,' which may also be read 'lidan.' 'Lidan' are some kind of *doves or pigeons*, for in another inscription the king says, that he attacked his enemies with such fury that they dared not await the assault, but fled like 'lidan birds' to a place of safety. If, therefore, we render in this passage 'itti lidan' by *signa columbarum*, we shall obtain as its

meaning, that the original 'timin' or 'timibel' of the city of Niniveh was reported by tradition to have been moulded in the form of a dove, or to have had such a figure stamped or graven upon it—a thing by no means improbable, since the dove was the holy emblem of Semiramis, the wife of Ninus, the mythic founder of Niniveh. And it was believed that after her death she was changed into a dove. The white dove was not only held sacred in Syria (*alba Palestino sancta columba Syro*), but in all the East. The traditions respecting Ninus are strongly confirmed by a most remarkable passage in the annals of Sargon, who dedicated to him one of the gates of his palace: 'U Ninev mokin timibel ir-su in labar tami rukuti' *And Ninev who laid the foundation stone of this city, in ancient days now long past!*

To return from this digression to the remaining words of line 36: 'itzrat' from יצר *opus fictile*, especially vessels of clay made by a potter; also יצר is a potter.

'isshidu' they engraved, from יצו *to engrave with a sharp tool*. (See the Michaux Inscription, Col. I. lin. ult. 'isshat'). These words 'isshat,' 'isshidu,' are equally well derived from the Syriac verb יצו *to cut*. This verb, however, and יצר are cognate, and were probably originally the same.

'subu' probably from שבו *collocavit*.

'tsindu' compages, buildings put together, or joined together. Compare Ezra iv. 12. "They have set up the walls of Jerusalem, and joined the foundations." "Subu tsindu" they founded the joinings seems equivalent to this biblical phrase they joined the foundations.

Line 37. 'ashru' place, from 'ashar' (see l. 11).

'naklu' beautiful, splendid; hence adv. 'naklish.'

'lita' tribute (?), 'nisiti' of men (?). In the Michaux Inscription, Col. II. 'nissuti.' Or perhaps 'nisiti' is very conspicuous, from 'nish' *res conspicua, admiranda*.

'nitsirti' treasures. The sign which follows this word should be 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 which may perhaps be read 'kum.' 'Nitsirti kum-sha' their treasures.

'sutabulu' they poured forth. T conjugation of 'subul' to pour (Ges. 978). We frequently find 'subul mie' the flow of waters. 'Sutabulu kireb-su' they poured into the city (rich tributes and offerings).

Line 38. 'sha valtu valla sarin' and the kings of old time, 'alikut makri' who went before me, 'abut-ya' my fathers, 'vallanu-

ya' before me, 'billutu ebusu' they reigned, literally *regnum (Assyriæ) fecerunt*. So 'sarrut itipsu' in the third line of the Behistun Inscription is *regnauerunt*.

*wemahiru' (and) they governed.

*bahu' a city. Also the district round a city. It is the Egyptian word 'baki' city (Tattam's Lexicon, p. 47), which the Greeks rendered by Βηχίς in Ατταβηχίς, city of Athor or Venus. It is also the Phœnician בָּקִי 'baki' a city (see Gesenius's Index of Phœnician words). He gives two senses, namely *urbs* and *vallis*. In Hebrew it only means *vallis* (Ges. 168).

Line 39. 'kiprat arba li' the four regions. Either an ancient name for the countries bordering on the Euphrates and Tigris, or else it may mean the four quarters of the world; the whole world.

'imdanakkar'a' they treasured up; stored. T conjugation of 'makar' to put into a treasury.

Line 40. 'yamu' no one, 'in sibbi sun' among them. This most important word 'yamu' *nullus* appears to have hitherto escaped the notice of Assyrian scholars, though it occurs rather frequently. For example, in Tiglath Pileser, I. 67, "SAR YAMU in takhari gat-zun la wesalti" NO KING ever subdued their armies in battle, ('salta' battle, 'gati' force or armed strength). Again, in Col. IV. 55 of the same inscription, Tiglath Pileser enters a most dangerous and difficult country of mountains, "sha in makra SAR YAMU sibba-sun la idu" which in former times NO KING ever entered among them. As to the origin of this word, as I have once or twice found it written 'yanu,' I think it may be connected with the Heb. יָנִי 'ain' or 'ayan,' which means *nil, non, &c. &c.* But another view may be taken, viz. that 'yamu' comes from יָמַן 'am' or 'yam' not. Example יִשְׁמַע יָמִי I will not do [this thing] (Ges. 69).

*in sib bi-sun' among them. So in the third line of the Behistun Inscription, 'VIII AS SIB zir-ya sarut itipsu' eight among my race were kings, or eight of them.

*sukh: ur' precious, very often said of precious stones.

*subat: dwelling.

*val' neither, 'ida sibbus' for 'ida sibbu-su' entered into it (see the passage just quoted from Tiglath Pileser, "sibba-sun la idu" they entered not into them). In the present passage 'la ida sibbu-su' is *non inivit*. I suppose this means

'ashsukha' *I led them, 'amma' away.*

Line 44. 'akshidu' *I cut down a tree* : plural 'iksithu' *they cut down.*

This seems to come from עַצַד *an axe*. So the Greek ἀξίνη is חַצִינָה in Syriac, צ being expressed by ξ in Greek.

Line 47. The sign for *water* or *river* with 'ti' added, means *a canal*.

The next word seems to be 'bilti' *principal*.

'kabulti' *the middle*.

'huabbitu' *was destroyed*, from 'abad' אָבַד *to be lost*, Hiph.

הִאֲבִיד 'huabid' *to destroy* (Ges. 4).

'nakmuti' *a burning with fire*, verbal noun from the common verb 'akmu' *I burned*.

'wekallimu' *they cut down with axes*, from 'kalma' or 'kilma' *an axe*, hence 'likilmu' *may they cut down!* Another form of this word, 'kalaba' *an axe*, is very frequent in the phrase 'as kalabati anbar' (or 'almas') *with axes of iron* (the soldiers made a road through impervious forests).

'anna su' *years ago*. I have little doubt that such is the meaning of this phrase. 'Anna' for *years* occurs very often, and appears to me to be the origin of the Latin *annus*.

'Anna su' means literally *years were*. So we find 'malki sun' *they were kings*, in the Behistun Inscription, and 'sar sut' *rex qui erat olim* in another inscription.

Line 48. 'ibakhu' *they were split*, from בָּקַע *to split* (Ges. 168).

'adan' *the foundation or base*, אָדָן *fundamentum* (*ædium*) (Ges. 17).

'vassi' *foundations*. This word occurs continually.

'mulu' *fissures, rents, or hollow cavernous places*, from Hebrew מוֹלָה *caverna*, which is from חָלַל *transfodit, vulneratus est, or solvit, aperuit, or destruxit*. As the name of Noah is sometimes written merely נֹחַ, so the word מוֹלָה would sound 'molah' on the same principle.

'weshipsu' *they traversed*. 'Sha' conjugation of 'pasach' פָּסַח (Ges. 832) *to pass through, or pass across anything*. The final ח having merged in the u of the plural verb, as 'imu' and 'innamu' from בָּחַ.

Line 49. 'turra' *antiquus, vel sæcularis*, from 'dur' *ævum, sæculum*.

'sikhirti' *the whole of anything*. 'Gimirti' has exactly the same meaning. The latter is from the Hebrew 'gimir' גִּמִּיר *complete, entire, also perfectus, absolutus*. Thus Tiglath Pileser calls himself 'sar gimir' *the perfect king*.

'ashrat' *ten*, Hebrew עֶשְׂרֵת.

'shavasti' or 'shusti' *six*, from שש 'shesh,' in construction ששת 'shesht.'

'sanna' *years*, Heb. שנה 'shana' *a year*.

'abbuslu' *it was dried up by the heat of the sun*, from 'bashal' בשל (Ges. 182) *coctus est solis ardore*.

'weshatshir,' from קצר *to cut off*.

'mutzu' *springs of water*, from יצא *exire, to spring forth*.

Line 50. 'kattiti' *broken rocks*; 'ashur' *I found*.

'shalki' *a rivulet*, Heb. שלח *ductus aquæ*.

'shiplanu' *down*, from שפל, so 'elanu' *up*. We frequently find the phrase 'elish u shiplish' *up and down*.

'giri' *mountains*. This is also a Sanskrit word, *ex. gr.* 'nil-giri' *the blue mountains* (the Neilgherries). But we also find in the Assyrian inscriptions 'gini' used for *mountains*. In the present passage the word is contracted, being merely written 'gi' with the plural sign added; it may therefore be either 'giri' or 'gini.'

'clanish' *over*.

'asib' or 'atsib' *intrat, it per medium*.

'mami' Heb. מים *waters*. 'Mie' is also often used, which is the Hebrew מי.

'nabalish' *most copiously*, from נבע, also נבא; 'nabu' or 'naba' *copiosè effudit* (Ges. 643).

'wetar' *I restored as formerly*, 'litar' *may he restore*, from Chaldee 'hedar' הדר *reditio, restitutio* (Buxt. 599).

Line 51. 'shukli,' from Heb. 'shekel' שקל *to measure* (see Hincks in the Transactions of the R. I. A., vol. 23, page 38).

Line 52. 'Mastiggar' or 'Vastiggar' is the usual name of the river Tigris in these inscriptions. The first syllable, appearing to be superfluous, has perplexed Assyrian scholars, and hitherto remained without explanation. But I have little doubt that it was the true name of the river. At any rate, the Greeks must have heard it so pronounced by the natives in the southern or lower part of its course. For they call that portion of the river the 'Pasitigris.' And it seems not improbable that the 'Tigris' is merely this native name shortened and Hellenized, as in many other instances they were accustomed to do. Thus, for example, Sir W. Jones informs us the Επαυβοφας of the Greeks, or *lovely murmuring stream*, is a corruption of the long Sanskrit term 'hiranya-bahu.'

Line 53. 'adir' is הדר *cultus*: קדש *cultus sacer* (Ges. 269).

.. : :

In Chald. דרר is to give glory, especially to God. The people may have sung a hymn at the moment when the clay tablet was deposited by the king.

'laenish' I have translated solemnly, but it may be without accident or injury: from 'anah' ענה to injure.

ne 54. 'etzib' I left. Hebrew עזב 'ezib' or 'etzib' to leave.

Cuneiform 𐎶𐎶𐎶

ne 55. 'uplamma,' see l. 42.

'isutzibu' were saved: from 'shatzib' שזב to save.

'weshakki' I adorned the palace. In an inscription of Esarhaddon we find 'weshakki wesarrik' I adorned and made grand my palace: for which passage many texts read 'wesim wesarrik,' so that 'weshakki' replaces 'wesim.'

The latter verb is from 'sim' a royal ornament.

'elanish' altogether, from 'elanu' summus. Compare Latin summa, the whole of a thing when added together, and the French en somme.

ne 56. 'il' above, usually written 'eli'; 'il sha as tami pani' above what it was in former days.

'tsir' above, beyond, is a preposition; 'tair misikti' beyond the measure; 'tsir' is also an adjective, as 'Ninua makhatzu tziru' Niniveh the exalted city, and also a substantive, as "They came and brought presents 'adi tsiri-ya' to my majesty."

'siktus' for 'sikta-sha' the 'sikta' of it. This word 'sikta' (from שך) appears to be sedes, the basement of the building or its site. שכך is to place a thing on a firm basis: to seat it. Also, to be seated and at rest.

For 'weshandila' perhaps read 'weshandiba' I enlarged, from 'nadib' largiri, largum esse.

no 57. 'ka amsi' ivory, teeth of elephants. So in Hebrew 'shin ebbi.' Often in Assyrian 'ka' alone is ivory, as 'shin' is in Hebrew. The Assyrians also use 'ebbu' for ivory very frequently. This is the native Indian name of the animal: 'ebhu' in Sanskrit. The Latin ebur, ivory, may perhaps be derived from hence. In Egypt also an elephant was called 'ebo.' Ivory had the same name, and there was a sacred island of Ebo which the Greeks called Elephantine. It is in the neighbourhood of Syene.

Of the various trees mentioned in l. 57, the 'butani' is the only one which can perhaps be identified. The 'butani' בושנים (Ges. 139) is the *Pistacia vera* of botanists, a

kind of *terebinth*, allied to the *σχινος* of the Greeks, which attained a large size, for its hollow trunk would conceal a man : *σχινον ἐς ἀρχαίον καταῦς ἐπιχωπίον εἶνος* (Theoc.)

'ana miship sarti-ya' for the habitation of my majesty, or for my royal residence. 'Miship' is from *שׁב* *consedit, mansit, habitavit*; in Hiphil *collocavit*.

Line 58. 'gimir' all, 'shimdi' carpenters (or rather joiners), from *צמד* 'shemed' or 'tshemed' to join (Gen. 866).

'esha' makers (Hob. *עשה* to make), 'tsippati' of wells, 'karrasu' call them (Hob. *קרא* 'kara' to call), 'etzi ratlat' the best trees, 'mati' of the land.

The word 'ratlat' means the best or finest. It is frequently used to denote the finest city or river in a country : for example, in Botta, 49, 1, we have 'Kar-Yakinni ir ratlati-su raba' his great capital city. Its etymology is uncertain.

'karrasu' they call them so, i.e., they are so : a Hebraism.

Line 59. 'bilku webulliku,' both words are derived apparently from *בלק* 'buluk' *cavus*.

'weshagila panussun' is a very common phrase, always meaning *I gave it to them in full property*.

Line 60. 'kishir' a hill. 'Ir kishri' city of the hills.

'weshatzir.' This verb *קצר* has occurred before in l. 49.

Line 61. The 'kasbu' of time was two hours : the 'kasbu' of distance probably a two-hours' walk (from seven to eight miles). This latter is called for distinction 'kasbu ebkaru' from 'ebkar' *earth, ground, land*.

'Kutzuru.' This river near Niniveh still retains nearly its ancient name. It is now called the Khausser. According to the map, Khorsabad is situated on its banks. I am aware that this name may be derived from 'khors' the Sun, but perhaps a simpler etymology would be "the city on the banks of the Khosra or Khausser. (I find that Dr. Hincks has anticipated me in the identification of the ancient and modern name, in Layard's "Nineveh," p. 212.)

'daruti' perennial, from *דר* 'dar' *æculum*.

'ashar-sha' of that place.

'weshirda' I brought down (into the valley). 'Sha' conjugation of 'irad' *ירד* to descend (Gen. 442). This verb is used frequently of falling water in Hebrew, e.g., 'palgi mim tarad aini' my eye lets full streams of tears ("Lamentations of Jeremiah," iii. 48).

'weshabiba' from 'shabu' שָׁבַע *to fill full*.

'pattish.' It appears from another inscription that 'patti' signifies *waterworks* or *aqueducts*, for after giving an account of a great work of this kind, the king says "I called its name the 'patti' of Sennacherib." And such waterworks are elsewhere called 'ami pattati.' The word 'patti' comes perhaps from 'patar' פָּטַר *a fountain of water* (Ges. 818). 'Pattish' is for 'patti-sha' *the stream of it, or its waterworks*.

Line 62. 'subat' *dwellings*; see note to Birs Nimrud, I. 16.

'vasrabbi' *I enlarged*, the same as 'wesharabbi' *I made great*, which is the 'sha' or *causative* conjugation of 'rabbah' *to be great*.

'ribati' *streets*, Hebrew רִחוּבֹת.

'weshan' *I made new*, Hebrew שָׁנָה *renovare*.

'labiriti' from 'labar' *old*. This adjective which occurs very frequently is one of the most important in the language. It seems peculiar to the Assyrian dialect.

'tsukani' is probably the Phœnician word 'suk' *forum, a market-place*. (See Ges. Phœn. 418.)

'wenammir' *I made it brilliant*.

'kima tami' *as the day*: or, as the Sun, the god of day. In the E. I. H. inscription the phrase is 'tamish' instead of 'kima tami.'

Line 63. 'ribitul' *regnum, vel regia potestas* (see Birs Nimrud, I. 2).

'inambu zigir-su' *shall name their names, i.e. shall call them* (and invest them with the royal dignity). When Samuel was called to be a prophet of the Lord, we read that his name was audibly called aloud.

'enu' *when*.

'ilabbiru' *shall grow old*: from 'labar' *old*.

'itnakhu' seems to be the Syriac 'ettanak' אֶתְנַחַךְ *defecit, it came to an end*, from 'tanak' תָּנַךְ of the same meaning. Possibly however the word should be read 'innakhu' because it frequently occurs as 'inakhu' or 'enakhu.'

Line 64. 'ankhut' I translate *ornaments*, but have not yet succeeded in identifying the word in Hebrew.

'luttish' *if he shall restore*. This verb occurs frequently; also the other tenses 'uttish' *I restored*, 'muttish' *the restorer* (of a temple), &c.

'likharu' *if he shall read aloud*: from 'kara' *to read* קָרָא (see Ges. 901), *altâ voce legi*; etiam 'kara bi sepher' *legers* קָרָא בִּסְפֵר *in libro scripta sunt*.

'libsu' *if he shall make*. This comes either from the verb **לְבַס** to finish, or **לְבַשׁ** to make (see l. 42).

'likki' *if he shall sacrifice*: from 'akki' *I sacrificed*. The word is, I think, derived from 'hag' *victim* **חַג**.

'ashri' from 'ashar' *a place*, see l. 11.

'litar' *if he shall restore or replace*: from 'wetar' *I restored* see l. 50, last word. The origin of all these optative forms of the verb is the particle **LU** (*if*): in Hebrew **לוֹ** see Ges. 524, where that learned lexicographer remarks "LU לוֹ, transit in interjectionem optantis: o si / utinam!"

'ikribi' *prayers*, from 'akrib' *I drew nigh*. It is the Heb. **קָרַב** *appropinquavit, propè accessit* (Ges. 903), used of divine worship in Zeph. iii. 2; Levit. xvi. 1, &c. The expression is very common in Scripture, for example, we read in the 1st book of Samuel: "And Saul built an altar unto the Lord then said the priest 'let us draw near hither unto God:' and Saul asked counsel of God 'shall I go down after the Philistines?'" 1 Sam. xiv. 35.

'ishimmi' *he will hear*, from **שָׁמַע** *audivit*.

Additional Note on the Birs Nimrud Inscription, Col. II. 29.

As the force of this passage seems to depend on the meaning of the king's name, Nabiu-kudur-ussur, I have thought it desirable to resume that enquiry in an additional note.

One of the kings of Babylon was called 'Nergal-sar-ussur' or *Nergal, protect the king!* A fine cylinder of this monarch is preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

The eldest son of Nabonidus was called 'Bel-sar-ussur,' or *Bel, protect the king!* The father of Nebuchadnezzar was called 'Nebo-pal-ussur' or *Nebo, protect thy son!* a name which the Greeks have slightly altered into 'Nabopolassar.' From the analogy of these names, one is led to form a conjecture that 'Nabiu-kudur-ussur' may also have meant *Nebo, protect the king!* The question is, how that name ought to be analysed? This great monarch had another name, 'Nabiu-shadu-ussur' or 'Naboshadussur,' which we also find frequently in use. These two names I am disposed to interpret '*Nebo, protect my crown!* and '*Nebo, protect my throne!* which are naturally to be viewed as equivalent names. 'Shadu' implies great dignity

and authority of some kind, for in Scripture **𐤔𐤗** is used to express the divine majesty. The word 'shadi' frequently occurs in the inscriptions, where, to judge from the context, it may mean *a royal throne*. And **𐤔𐤗** 'shad' is *dominus, a lord*. Moreover, since writing this, I have noticed a passage in the annals of Ashurakhlbal in which 'shatu' means plainly *a king*. That monarch addressing the god Ninev, calls himself 'SHATU naram lib-ka' *the king beloved by thy heart*.

'Kudur' appears to signify *a royal crown*, which in Persian was called *Kīrap* or *Kīḍap* (as the Greek authors have transcribed it). But not in Persian only: for in an inscription of Esarhaddon, that monarch describes himself as sitting in state and placing the crown on his head, while his subjects and the chiefs he had conquered bowed down and did homage before him. He says: 'Kuduru as reshdu-ya assima' *I placed the crown on my head*. This passage would be almost conclusive if the reading were certain. But it is possible that the word may be 'kukuru' *orbis, circulus*. The meaning would, however, be the same, *I placed the diadem on my head*. It is worth observing, that in some inscriptions the king calls himself 'Nabiu-kukur-ussur'; at least, if the word be meant for 'kudur,' there is no distinction observed between the 'ku' and the 'du.' It will be desirable, of course, to find more passages in the inscriptions confirmatory of this one; but in the meanwhile, I think that these grounds are sufficient for venturing to propose this new explanation of the famous name of Nebuchadnezzar.

ART. III.—*Ptolemy's Chronology of Babylonian Reigns conclusively vindicated; and the Date of the Fall of Nineveh ascertained; with Elucidations of connected points in Assyrian, Scythian, Median, Lydian and Israelite History.*
By the Rev. R. E. TYRWHITT, M.A.

[Read April 21, 1860.]

PART I.

THE matter of the ensuing essay may be regarded as two-fold. First, we undertake to vindicate the chronology of Ptolemy's Canon for the first 212 years of that table of reigns at Babylon; that is to say, from the first of Nabonassar to the third year of the nine which the table gives to Cyrus. Next, we propose to show that Nineveh was taken, and, with that capital, the proper Assyrian empire was overthrown, by the Babylonians and Medes, in the year B.C. 608. In connection with this latter subject are treated several important historical topics; the expeditions of Nekho, king of Egypt, first, in B.C. 609, against the falling Assyrian, and, secondly, in B.C. 605, against the growing Babylonian power; the complete establishment of the Babylonian supremacy by Nebukhadrezzar, in the years from B.C. 606 to B.C. 604; the true relationship, unconsciously attested by Herodotus, between the Medes and the Scythians for twenty-eight years; that is, as will be shown, for twenty-two years before and for six years after the fall of Nineveh; the true dimensions of the war which, according to Herodotus, Cyaxares, king of the Medes, waged with Alyattes, king of the Lydians; the entire trustworthiness of Herodotus's Median chronology; and, a criticism showing the probable Herodotean date of the conquest of Cræsus and his Lydians by the Medes under Cyrus the Persian. Lastly, in the second part of this paper, we argue, that it is not inconsistent with that absolute deference which we profess to the astronomical verdict, "That the eclipse of the sun predicted by Thales, was one which happened in B.C. 585,"—to believe, as we do at the same time, that the solar eclipse which terminated the war between the Medes under Cyaxares and the Lydians under Alyattes, was the one which happened in May, B.C. 603.

I. The first part to be submitted of this plan is the vindication, which we regard as conclusive, of Ptolemy's Canon.

But before we enter on the considerations by which we undertake

to show that during its first 212 years the computation of time in this catalogue of reigns at Babylon may be thoroughly trusted (because it agrees with a totally independent Hebrew measurement of the length of the same period),—we cannot but notice a theory offered to readers of our Society's Journal, which would entirely subvert the ordinary views of the connection between Hebrew and Greek chronology, so far as that view rests upon the authority of the Canon.

It is contended that the solar eclipse of January the 11th, B.C. 689, marks the fourteenth regnal year of Hezekiah, king of Judah, and the third regnal year of Sennacherib, king of Assyria; whereas the ordinary computation places Hezekiah's fourteenth year about twenty-four years earlier, or about the year B.C. 713.

As to the contemporaneousness of Hezekiah's fourteenth and Sennacherib's third year, this is a *separate* question; on which, however, I will here offer something, to reconcile (if it be admitted) the apparent inconsistency of the Hebrew and of the Assyrian account of the interval between the capture of Samaria by the forces of Sargon, and the invasion of Hezekiah's kingdom by Sennacherib. This interval, according to our Hebrew histories, was that between the sixth and fourteenth of Hezekiah's years; but, according to the chronicles of Sargon and of Sennacherib (as hitherto interpreted), it was the interval between the first year of Sargon, who reigned certainly not less than fifteen years, and the third year of Sennacherib, when that king first invaded Hezekiah's dominions. But this Assyrian account, which at first sight gives us but a proximate value of the interval, making it at least ten years longer than the apparent Hebrew estimate, does really enable us to fix the precise date of Sennacherib's invasion of the land of Judah, at the twenty-second year, instead of the ninth current, after the fall of Samaria. For Sennacherib's annals show, that in the first year of his reign, having expelled Merodakh Baladan (who, by the aid of the people of Susiana, had, for the last six months, as it would seem, re-established himself in Babylon), he left Belib, his viceroy, in Babylon; also, that in the fourth year of his reign, he deposed Belib. Now, according to Ptolemy's Manual List of Babylonian Reigns, nineteen full years elapsed between the new-year's day of the first of Mardokempadus, which was the first of Sargon, and the new year's day of the first regnal year of Belibus, who reigned three years: therefore, the interval between Sargon's accession and Sennacherib's is nineteen years, or more by four years than the fifteen for which alone, as yet, Sargon's annals have been found; while the interval from the fall of Samaria to Sennacherib's invasion of Hezekiah will be twenty-two years current.

My own *conjecture* here is, that the contemporary chroniclers, in their annual registers of the doings of the kings of Judah, counted two reigns of Hezekiah, of which the first terminated and the second began in that figure of a death and resurrection, his sickness in the fourteenth year after his first accession (when he was told by God to put his house in order, for that he should die) and his miraculous recovery on the third day to a new life and reign of fifteen years. Next I suppose, that whereas the invasion of Sennacherib took place in the fourteenth year of the *second* reign (or in about the twenty-seventh year counted from Hezekiah's first accession), those who compiled our books from the contemporary annals, confounded the one fourteenth year with the other; putting the sickness of Hezekiah and Sennacherib's invasion, both in the same year,—that is, the *first* fourteenth. I would also, but with less confidence, suggest that the embassy from Merodakh Baladan, mentioned in the Second Book of Kings and in Isaiah, to congratulate Hezekiah on his recovery, and probably to negotiate a league against the king of Assyria, may have been a different embassy from that of the princes of Babylon mentioned in the Second Book of Chronicles, to inquire of the wonder which had been wrought in Hezekiah's land; for this wonder I would explain to be, not the going back of the sun when Hezekiah was sick, but the destruction of 185,000 men in the camp of the Assyrians, without stroke of man, in a single night, at the time of Sennacherib's invasion.

These remarks, however, on the discordance between the Hebrew and both the Assyrian and the Ptolemaean date for Sennacherib's invasion, are no part of the task of vindication which I have undertaken, and to which we now return. The theory subversive of the credit of Ptolemy's Canon maintains, that the solar eclipse of 11th January, B.C. 689, marks that fourteenth regnal year of Hezekiah, king of Judah, when he was sick, and God gave him a *sign* (to assure him of recovery, and of the deliverance of Jerusalem from the king of Assyria), bringing back the shadow on the sundial of Ahaz ten steps or degrees. Now to establish, in a conclusive manner, the credit of the early part of Ptolemy's Canon of reigns, is to destroy this theory; for, according to the Hebrew annals, combined with the Canon, the sickness of Hezekiah would be (as we have said) in about B.C. 713, more than twenty years before the eclipse.

But we must offer briefly some preliminary objections to the theory.

First, we object, that, after all, the author admits that the large eclipse of the sun, visible at Jerusalem on the 11th of January, B.C.

689, did (according to the exactest calculations hitherto made) *not* happen precisely at that time in the forenoon, which the theory requires, but about a quarter of an hour earlier.

Another objection we make is, that, at best, the eclipse, under the accompanying conditions which the theory supposes, could effect at most but *one* of the *two* tokens offered to the choice of Hezekiah. "Shall the sun and the shadow on the dial go forward, or shall it go back?"—is the offer of God by the Prophet: but the supposed machinery could only make the shadow go back. Moreover, this machinery of the eclipse and its accompaniments, is a *natural means*; whereas the *sign*, to be truly an earnest from God (as it is represented to have been) to assure Hezekiah that he should be healed of his mortal malady on the third day, and that Jerusalem, in time of need, should be delivered from the king of Assyria—ought to be a work of God's not less supernatural than raising the dead, or than the destruction which afterwards befell Sennacherib's army. The *use* and moral *purpose* of a miracle, that is, a display of the supernatural power of God, is that of an indisputable *token* that God is really dealing with us, and will make good his promises. "Except ye see signs and wonders (says our Lord) ye will not believe." That a miracle, to assure Hezekiah and his people, was really wrought on this occasion, there exists, we believe, an Egyptian attestation, confirming the testimony of the Hebrew Scriptures.

According to the Hebrew record, this Act of God was a decree by which the rotation eastward of this earth, with all that accompanies it and gravitates towards its centre, was interrupted and reversed, so far to westward, that, to the complement of hours or of minutes belonging by God's pre-existing law of nature to the particular period of daylight in which the command was given, a certain smaller number of hours or of minutes was added,—this addition being the space of time occupied by the earth while it was thus moving, at whatever speed, to westward; and, likewise, while it was recovering its former most advanced position to eastward, after having been released to obey its former accustomed law. Such was the token which the God of Israel gave to his anointed (a type for the time of the great and true anointed one), that it was himself who, by his prophet's voice, promised life, a greater matter than movements of any, or all, of the heavenly bodies. But this we have to say, that in an account providentially reported out of their annals by Egyptian priests to Herodotus, and, though it has been little heeded, preserved for future generations by the Greek contemporary of Ezra and Nehemiah, we have evidence of the fact recorded by older Hebrew

writers, which indeed was open to the observation of neighbouring nations, as well as of Israel. In the count of years and record of events continually kept from the most ancient times in Egypt, there were said to be two days noted in which the sun moved not as usual, from east to west, but from west to east; being, we believe, two days recorded in Hebrew scripture. Of these, the first, at the bidding of the general of the Israelite army, Joshua (a type in name as in function), was prolonged by the space of perhaps 12 hours; though, on this first occasion, the rotation of the earth with the moon its satellite seems to have been stopped only, not reversed. But on the latter and better remembered day, surpassing the first, at his prophet's prayer, God fulfilled his promise, and gave Hezekiah the token which he had chosen of the two which had been offered to his option,—not only the earth did not roll on, it rolled back for a space before it returned to finish its daily course.

We have all seen the movement of a steamship, or of a train of railroad carriages, accelerated, slackened, or reversed, at the will of one whose skill and whose unaided strength, could not, with all the materials required, construct the thing he thus commands. If the word of the ship-captain, "Stop her," "Back her," is promptly obeyed by an agency invisible to the passengers, shall the command of the Maker of the heavenly host be less potent, as to a planet whose ordinary movement is but his appointment?

But we own that the Egyptian contemporary record is not known to exist for either of these two days. We think, however, that in a story which Herodotus hands to us, from Egyptian priests his informants, we have a medium through which the more accurate accounts are discernible. "They declare" (do the Egyptians and their priests, says he) "that from their first-mentioned king (Menes) to this last-mentioned monarch (Sethos), the priest of Phthah, was a period of 341 generations. Such, at least, they say, was the number both of their kings and of their high priests during this interval . . . in which entire space, they said, no god had ever appeared in a human form. Nothing of this kind had happened either under the former or under the later Egyptian kings. *εν τοιουντ τουτω τῇ χρονῇ τετρακις ἑλεγον ἐξ ἡθουν τὸν Ἥλιον ἀνατεῖλαι*, (Lepsius considers Böck to have plainly proved that for *ἀνατεῖλαι*, must be read *αναστῆναι*), *εἰθα τε νυν καταβυεται εντευθεν εἰς επαταειλαι, καὶ ενθεν νυν ανατελλει εντανθα εἰς καταβηναι*. Egypt was in no degree affected by these changes. The productions of the land and of the river remained the same, nor was there anything unusual either in the diseases or the deaths."

The difference between the report of Herodotus, or of his infor-

mants, on the one hand, and the original records on the other, we suppose to be, that they referred to two occasions; while he says, *τετρακις*, "four times—the sun went from his own place; twice rising where he now sets, and twice setting where he now rises." However, on the occasion in the days of Hezekiah king of Judah, (a contemporary of that Sethos priest of Phthah, who ruled Egypt without an army at the time of Sennacherib's invasion)—there were in fact exhibited *two* out of the four phenomena which were somewhat incorrectly reported to, or understood by, Herodotus. On that occasion it might have been said, with little exaggeration, that the sun *set once* where he now rises and *rose once* where he now sets. In fact the sun went from west to east ten degrees, as if he had risen in the west and was about to set in the east. On the other, more ancient, occasion the *same* two-fold phenomenon would have been presented, had the wonder in heaven been really what it seems to have been hastily supposed, *an exact counterpart of the more recent occurrence*. But, in fact, on that occasion, "The sun stood still, and the moon stayed;" the rotation (that is) of earth and moon ceased; yet neither did the moon gravitate nearer to the earth, nor did the earth fall from its former distance, one whit toward the sun. Edward Greswell in his *Fasti Catholici*, who did not suggest but has confirmed us in our opinion, (which we find to be Calmet's also,) remarks upon Herodotus's account, thus, "If the tradition had run in these terms, that, between such and such limits of time, the sun had been twice seen to be rising, *when* it should have been seen to be setting, and twice had been observed to be setting *when* it should have been seen to be rising;—a more concise and yet a more correct representation of the actual matter of fact, as it must have been witnessed on each occasion at Heliopolis in Egypt, could scarcely have been imagined." He goes on to contend that the tenor of the actual account that the sun had twice risen *where* it ordinarily sets, and had twice set *where* it ordinarily rises" is no valid objection to his interpretation of Herodotus. Of course we are aware that others interpret Herodotus's story differently; as Sir G. Wilkinson citing Mr. Poole's *Homœ Hebraicæ* in G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*; see, too, the controversy between Von Gumpach and Lepsius in the *Transactions of the Chronological Institute*. For ourselves we insist much upon the fact (which the connection in Herodotus's narrative intimates, that his informants were telling him of Sethos invaded by Sennacherib, when they were led to speak of the behaviour of the sun-god, who though he never appeared in human form, had departed from his ordinary course in the sky on more than one occasion in their history. For the sign in the sun was given, at

Hezekiah's request, only fourteen years before the invasion of Sethos by Sennacherib; and it may have been recorded at the spot, or near to it, where the invasion was recorded.

To our own mind, a very conclusive objection to the theory that the solar eclipse of 11th January, B.C. 689, produced the retrograde movement of the shadow which Hezekiah beheld in the fourteenth year of his reign, is *the very nature of the consequences* which the admission of it implies, though these are unflinchingly accepted by its author. But to one of the arguments by which he supports his theory, we will here insert our reply.

The argument is, that B.C. 689 did really coincide, in part, with some portion of Hezekiah's fourteenth year, because (according to a calculation, based upon the Jewish observance of the Mosaic law under the Syro-Macedonian kings, as recorded by Josephus,) it would appear that, in the year B.C. 689 commenced a seventh year, which was a sabbath for the land, and, in the year B.C. 688 a pentecostal year, or Mosaic year of jubilee; while, on the other hand, two such successive years, in which the people of Hezekiah neither ploughed, nor sowed, nor planted, are indicated as contemporary, by a second sign which God gave to Hezekiah at Jerusalem, by a message that the prophet Isaiah forwarded to the king in the temple, promising him the deliverance he had been there praying for. For, as usual, to the promise was appended a token of its credibility. It was added, "And this shall be a sign unto thee; Ye shall eat this year such as groweth of itself; and the second year, that which springeth of the same: and in the third year, sow ye and reap and plant vineyards, and eat the fruit thereof: And the remnant that is escaped of the house of Judah shall again take root downward and bear fruit upward. . . ." It is fair to add, that it was promised, at the same time, that if he had already menaced the city, in person as well as by Rabshakeh, the king of Assyria should not approach it again; but by the way that he came by the same he should return. And it is related, that the angel of Jehovah smote the Assyrian host the following night.

That so great a fulfilment of the promise happened immediately, may be thought to lessen the weight of the last of the objections which are now to be made to the argument derived from God's second *sign* to Hezekiah.

The objections are preliminary. Before entering into the calculation which would place the commencement of an ordinary sabbatic year in B.C. 689 (the year of the eclipse), and that of a pentecostal year in B.C. 688, we observe, first, that according to the Assyrian annals,

which we think reconcileable with the Hebrew account, this second sign to Hezekiah was given, not in the fourteenth year after his accession, the year of his sickness and recovery (or, as we call it, his figurative death and resurrection), but in the fourteenth year after this re-mounting of the throne, that is (as is shown by the Assyrian and the Canon's joint account of the interval between the capture of Samaria and Sennacherib's first invasion of Palestine), in the twenty-seventh year of Hezekiah. Therefore, if so—and *if the theory that B.C. 689 marks the year of Hezekiah's sickness be true*—this second sign was not given, and Sennacherib's defeat did not happen, before B.C. 675. On the other hand, if we have placed Sennacherib's invasion rightly in Hezekiah's twenty-seventh year, but the theory against which we contend, be inadmissible, in that case the giving of the sign of the three years and Sennacherib's defeat, are both to be placed in B.C. 700; and the third year, when all would be peace at home and abroad, was the last year of Hezekiah's reign, B.C. 698.

But it seems demonstrable, from their Scriptures of the period, that the Jews, at the time of the captivity, had not observed the sabbatic year for the last seventy times seven years; and it appears that they quite disregarded the Mosaic law, which required them to release the Hebrew bondsman in the sabbath year.

Lastly, we object that the second sign to Hezekiah, of the three years—interpreted as it has been by former commentators, and as it is now to the support of our author's theory—is no *Divine* assurance. It needed no prophet, in the forty-ninth year of a pentecostal period, to tell the people (if religiously observant of the Mosaic law) that as they had not ploughed last autumn, so they would not plough next autumn; but that, the autumn following they would be hard at work. We shall be nearer the true sense if we thus paraphrase the announcement of the sign that was offered in the twenty-seventh year of Hezekiah:—"Last autumn, O ye people of Judah, as ye know," (perhaps for fear of the Assyrians,) "your lands were neither sown nor planted;—even so shall it be, saith Jehovah, in the autumn now approaching" (in spite of the blow ready to fall upon the Assyrian army). "But by the time of the next return of that season, all hindrance will have ceased. Ye will sow and plant in perfect peace, as in the happy years of old. Then let the event convince you, that Jehovah will likewise cause your remnant of a nation to multiply; his vine, which he brought out of Egypt and planted in this land, to take root downward and again bear fruit upward!"

From these objections to a New Theory of the Chronological Connection between Hebrew and Greek historians, pass we now to

Ptolemy's Catalogue of Reigns. This chronological epitome for its first two centuries and more,—from Nabonassar to Cyrus,—the lately disinterred monuments of Assyrian history (through their decipherers) enable us to vindicate, by means of the Hebrew annals, while *these* are, in turn, vindicated, for their contemporaneous chronology, by the Catalogue of reigns, with the number of years in each, at Babylon.

This chronological Manual of Ptolemy's was first known as preserved by Syncellus in two shapes, whereof the less deformed he calls the "astronomical" and "mathematical Canon:" perhaps, because while it takes away from some reigns to give the theft to others, it still has respect for numbers, leaving the sum of the years from Nabonassar to Alexander the Macedonian uninjured. But the worse deformed, which he calls the Ecclesiastical Canon, not only goes much further in the depravation of particulars, but is regardless of conformity in *totals* with the genuine Manual of Ptolemy. This was afterwards found unadulterated in a trustworthy quarter, a before unpublished fragment of a commentator on Ptolemy's works, the astronomer Theon. It is after Theon's copy of it, then, that we vindicate the Canon, and give a portion of it below.

Hitherto, for the early part of it, from Nabonassar to Cyrus, or, at the least, from Nabonassar to the great Nabukhadrezzar, this inestimable chronological epitome (derived, we doubt not, long before Ptolemy's time, from contemporary Chaldean records,) appeared to stand alone, inviting attack because unsupported. From the time of Cyrus downward, Greek and Roman historians confirm its names and numbers; and upward, from Cyrus to Nebukhadrezzar, the Holy Hebrew writings, and the fragments of the Chaldean historian Berosus, have appeared to such judges as Usher in the seventeenth, and Clinton in our nineteenth century, to tally with it and fully confirm it. Thus it has furnished modern scholars with a chronological connection between the Hebrew annals and the Greek historians. Yet the basis of this view of the connection, being a combination of Ptolemy's Canon and of Berosus's testimony with that of the Hebrew writers, is by others regarded as having little solidity in it: for, (as has been said) the authority of no less a part of it than the Alexandrian astronomer's first table of the numbers of years in reigns which preceded the one under which he lived himself, has been disputed for the earlier portion. But (besides those preserved in the Hebrew canon of Scripture) records, contemporary with the early reigns of Ptolemy's catalogue, exist among the Assyrian and Babylonian cuneiform memorials; and (through the wonderful labours of the discoverers, decipherers, and translators of them) they already give

light to historical students. By aid derived from this unexpected source, we are able to establish the accuracy of the computation which Ptolemy confided in, for the first 212 years of it, which are also the last 212 years of the chronologically connected Hebrew annals:—for the 212th year of the Canon is the third year after the capture of Babylon by the Medes and Persians under the command of Cyrus, when the seventieth year of the prophet Daniel's captivity and service under the masters of that capital came to its end. This 212th year of Nabonassar coincides nearly with the year B.C. 536,—beginning about ninety hours only later.

The Assyrian monarch Sargon (mentioned once by the Hebrew prophet Isaiah, his contemporary) has transmitted to us his history by a palace, which he built at the spot called now Khorsabad, fifteen miles from the site of Nineveh Proper. From the stone-writ annals of the royal builder here disinterred, and now deposited in Paris at the Louvre, the learned in the character and language inform us, that Samaria (of which we knew, from Hebrew history, that the siege had been undertaken, the year but one before, by Shalmanezzer, king of Assyria) was taken, and its inhabitants carried off captive by the Assyrians, in the first regnal year of Sargon. Here, then, is a synchronism between the history of Assyria and the history of Judah; for Samaria, as we know from the Hebrew annals, was taken by the Assyrians in the sixth year of Hezekiah, king of Judah. But from the chronicle of the first fifteen years of his reign, which Sargon has left us, it further appears, that the first regnal year of Sargon was also the first year at Babylon of the reign of a certain Merodakh Baladan, who, after he had reigned twelve years in Babylon, was driven out of that capital by Sargon, in the twelfth year of Sargon's reign. Now, this Merodakh Baladan, who reigned twelve years at Babylon, as Sargon's vassal king, is immediately recognized in Ptolemy's catalogue of reigns at Babylon, in the only king of the whole series who is recorded to have reigned twelve years, and his name is written in our copy of the Canon ΜΑΡΔΟΚΕΜΙΑΔΟΣ (*Mardokempadus*). The first element in this name is clearly the first element in the name Merodakh Baladan, being the name of a well-known Babylonian deity. It has been proposed to substitute Λ for Δ in the latter element of the name Μαρδοκεμπαδος, in order to bring that portion also nearer to *Baladan*. We would rather suppose that a Λ has been dropt before the Δ, having been mistaken for a useless second Δ; and in like manner we suspect that a Δ has below in the Canon been dropt before the Λ in Ναβακολασσαρος, the name indicating *Nebukhadrezzar*. But there seems to be as little reason to doubt that

Mardokempa(l)dus and Marodakh Baladan are one and the same king, as there is to doubt that Naboko(d)lassar and Nabukhadrezzar are one and the same king. And if so, we have here gained an important synchronism between the table of Babylonian reigns and Assyrian history; for the first year of Mardokempadus is the first year of Sargon. But if so, we have also a synchronism between the Babylonian table and Hebrew history; for, since we have learnt that the first of Sargon is the sixth of Hezekiah, it follows that the first of Mardokempadus is the sixth of Hezekiah.

So now we are enabled to test Ptolemy's Catalogue or Manual Table of Reigns at Babylon, by a list of contemporary reigns at Jerusalem, which may be extracted from the Hebrew historians. Taking *parallel periods* from our two witnesses, both below and above this point of junction (the first year of Mardokempadus, and the sixth of Hezekiah), we shall be able to ascertain whether the same length is assigned by both computations. But we may be assured beforehand that the result of our experiments will be the manifestation of a perfect harmony between the two; for it is easy to observe first, by the Ptolemaean Canon, that Mardokempadus has for the year of his accession, the twenty-seventh year of the series, counted from the first of Nabonassar, or the "vague" year which began on the 19th of February B.C. 721; then from the margin of an English Bible, it may be gathered that Usher also (starting only from the probable synchronism between the third year after the end of the reign of Nabonadius by the Canon, and the seventieth year of Daniel's captivity) placed the capture of Samaria and the sixth of Hezekiah in the same year B.C. 721.

But let us make the experiment. Let us take first a period starting from this point of junction in the Hebrew and the Babylonian annals, the first year of Mardokempadus and the sixth of Hezekiah. Lower down in the Ptolemaean first table of reigns at Babylon, stands the reign of the famous Nebukhadrezzar, whose first regnal year is the 144th year of the table, and of the series called the years of Nabonassar,—that king, from whose accession (or rather from the new-year's day next preceding it), the Babylonian chronologers,—Ptolemy's predecessors—began their reckoning. Between the two new-year's days, then, of the first of Mardokempadus, and of the first of Nebukhadrezzar,—or (to use the Egyptian phraseology of Ptolemy, who was of Alexandria, in treating of this series of years of the uniform measure of 365 days and no more), between the two firsts of Thoth, from which Mardokempadus's and Nebukhadrezzar's reigns are respectively dated (that is, between the 19th February, B.C. 721, and the 21st of January, B.C. 604),

the interval is 117 years of uniformly 365 days a-piece. The same interval may be expressed by enumerating the ten reigns and two spaces without a king, into which it is divided in the Canon, thus,

$$12 + 5 + 2 + 3 + 6 + 1 + 4 + 8 + 13 + 20 + 22 + 21.$$

Now the space of time thus measured in Ptolemy's Canon, or rather Ptolemy's first Canon or first Table, may also (as it seems) be measured by the Hebrew annals; since it appears to be marked off, in these by the same beginning, the sixth year of Hezekiah (which, as we have seen, was the first year of Mardokempadus), and by the same termination, the fourth year of Jehoiakim, which, according to the prophet Jeremiah, was the first of Nebukhadrezzar. Let us then find the length of this interval; from the beginning of the sixth of Hezekiah to the beginning of the fourth of Jehoiakim, by the Hebrew annals. It is the sum of the years of the *entire reigns* of the kings who intervened between Hezekiah and Jehoiakim (that is Manasseh, Amon, Josiah and Jehoahaz), added to two *fractions of reigns*, namely, twenty-four years, the remainder of Hezekiah's reign after the lapse of his first five years, and the portion of Jehoiakim's reign preceding his 4th year. It is the sum of $55 + 2 + 31 + \frac{1}{4} + 24 + 3$ or $115\frac{1}{4}$ years; or rather 115 years; for Jehoahaz's reign of $\frac{1}{4}$ year is most probably again reckoned in the adjacent reigns. We have thus in the Hebrew computation a measurement of apparently the same space, shorter by two years than that of the Canon. Yet 115 and 117 years are so nearly the same lengths of time that the general trustworthiness both of the Canon and of the Hebrew Chronology might fairly be inferred.

But the two years excess of the one measurement, or defect of the other, can be shown to be no inaccuracy on either side.

(1.) First, the difference between 115 civil years of the Hebrews (which were circles of the agricultural seasons, that is, natural solar years), and 117 Babylonian calendar years of 365 days a-piece without intercalation, is *not* (what we have called it) a difference of two solar years; but of one such year and $336\frac{1}{2}$ days or almost exactly one year and eleven months.

(2.) Next it may be shown from Hebrew Scripture, where the thirty-seventh year of the captivity of Jeconiah, son of Jehoiakim, at Babylon, is made to coincide with the first regnal year of Evil-Merodakh, that the fourth regnal year of Jehoiakim (who reigned in all eleven years), did not really coincide with that forty-third year above the new-year's day of E.N. 187, the year in which Evil Merodakh succeeded Nebukhadrezzar according to the Canon; that is, it did not really coincide with E.N. 144; though we have hitherto been contented to assume that it did, because the Canon makes this forty-

third previous year the first regnal year, or year of the accession of Nebukhadrezzar, while both Jeremiah and Daniel count the fourth of Jehoiakim for the first of Nebukhadrezzar. In truth, the fourth of Jehoiakim *more nearly* coincides with the forty-fourth year previous to the new-year's day of the year in which Evil-Merodakh succeeded; that is, it more nearly coincided with E.N. 143 than with E.N. 144.

But further, this fourth year of Jehoiakim began at the same season of the year in which his first began. Now his first began three months at least (which was the length of the intervening reign of his brother Jehoahaz), after that battle of Megiddo, in which Josiah, his father, was slain. Therefore, his fourth year began near about the end of the season for warfare in the field, that is, it began in the autumn. Indeed, we know it began after that campaign in his third year in which he was made to surrender first to the Babylonians. Thus, it began before the commencement (which was 22nd January, B.C. 605), of that year of the Canon with which it most nearly coincides, E.N. 143, the forty-fourth year before the new-year's day of Evil Merodakh's year of accession to the Babylonian throne. Clinton (supposing the battle at Megiddo to have been fought in May), places the commencement of the years of Jehoiakim in August. We might, therefore, say, that the Hebrew computation of 115 years, from the beginning of Hezekiah's sixth, ends at about 21st August, B.C. 606, rather than at the 21st of January, B.C. 604, the termination of the 117 years which we counted, in the Canon of Babylonian reigns, from the beginning of the first of Mardokempadus. We suspect, however, that Jehoiakim's regnal years are years of the Hebrew civil calendar.

However, we may provisionally reduce the apparent difference of twenty-three months between the two computations, by seventeen, leaving an apparent difference of six months between them.

(3.) But thirdly, even this six months (or more, if Jehoiakim's years began later than August 21st), may be no inaccuracy on either side. It may express the fact that the new-year's day of the first year of Mardokempadus, or the 19th day of February, B.C. 721, preceded the commencement of Hezekiah's sixth year by six months or more. For Hezekiah's regnal years, as well as Jehoiakim's, seem to have commenced in autumn. Certainly, Hezekiah's first year had been some time current, when, on the first day of the first month (Nisan), or about the vernal equinox, he re-opened the doors of the house of the Lord to cleanse it and to renew the service, which, under Ahaz, had been discontinued.

When we said it might be proved from Hebrew Scripture, that the fourth year of Jehoiakim coincided more nearly with the forty-

fourth than with the forty-third year of the Canon, prior to the new-year's day of the first of Evil-Merodakh (though, indeed, it began perhaps not less than five months earlier than that forty-fourth previous year);—we intimated a fact, which may easily be derived,—and has, by Clinton, been derived—from the Hebrew books; that, because the people of Judah considered Nebukhadrezzar's reign to commence with the new year of their own king Jehoiakim next ensuing after the first capture of Jerusalem, by the army of Nabopolassar king of Babylon, under the command of his son Nebukhadrezzar, in the third year of Jehoiakim, they made Nebukhadrezzar's reign, or supremacy, to commence (as it did over themselves) while his father was yet alive; forty-four years and more than three months (if not, as Clinton's date for the commencement of Jehoiakim's regnal years would make it, forty-four years and five months) instead of forty-three years, before the 11th of January, B.C. 561, the new-year's day of the first year of Evil-Merodakh.

Now, this leads us to observe, as to the famous seventy years captivity of the children of Judah and Benjamin at Babylon, (which coincide with the first seventy years of Daniel's yet longer career under Chaldean Medes and Persian sovereigns in that capital),—that, according to the Hebrew view of Nebukhadrezzar's reign, it lasted from the first year of Nebukhadrezzar to the first year of Cyrus. Having then justified Ptolemy's Canon for a period of $115\frac{1}{2}$ solar years, counted from 19th February B.C. 721 to the autumn of B.C. 606, let us next test the accuracy of the same document by comparing the measurement it gives of this further period with the measurement which the Hebrew annals furnish. The observations which we have already made will enable us to justify the Canon thoroughly, and, of course, to obtain a reciprocated testimony in favour of the accuracy of the Hebrew chronology.

A sufficient demonstration, we repeat, has been offered of the correctness of the computation of time in the Canon for 115 natural years, from the beginning of the sixth year of Hezekiah king of Judah, (six or seven months after the new-year's day of the first year of Mardokempadus king of Babylon), down to the autumn of B.C. 606, the beginning of the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah, and (according to the Hebrew view) the beginning likewise of the reign of Nebukhadrezzar king of Babylon;—a point, however, certainly more than twelve, perhaps as many as seventeen, months earlier than 21st January, B.C. 604, the new-year's day of E.N. 144, the first of Nebukhadrezzar by the Babylonian or Ptolemæan reckoning. In fact, the beginning of the fourth of Jehoiakim, in autumn B.C. 606, is a point in the year E.N. 142, that is, in the last year but one of the

reign assigned by the Canon to Nabopolassar, Nebukhadrezzar's predecessor—and, as both Berosus and a cylinder of his own inform us, his father. Now, the next length of time, of which the measure in the Canon is to be tested by its measure according to the Hebrew reckoning, starts from *this* point, *not* from the beginning of that year of Nabonassar's æra which the Canon counts for the first of Nebukhadrezzar's reign, namely the year 144: for the Hebrew length of seventy years captivity at Babylon commences with the fourth year of Jehoiakim. So that, out of twenty-three months, the excess which we found at first in the Ptolemæan reckoning of the length of the space from the beginning of Mardokempadus to the beginning of Nebukhadrezzar, seventeen months according to Clinton, or somewhat less (if Jehoiakim's regnal years be Hebrew civil years, beginning with the month Tisri about the autumn equinox) have to be transferred to the period of the Canon now secondly under examination.

To this transferred item of seventeen or sixteen months we must add forty-three years, assigned in the Canon to Nebukhadrezzar, two years assigned to Evil-Merodakh, four years assigned to Neriglissar, and seventeen years assigned to Nabonedus, Labynetus, or Nabonadins (stepfather apparently and regent for Belshazzar), the last of the Chaldean (or, as the Canon calls them, the Assyrian) kings of Babylon. The sum of these items, $1\frac{5}{2}$ (or $1\frac{1}{2}$) + 43 + 2 + 4 + 17, is sixty-seven years, and five or at least four months. Then follows the reign of nine years assigned to Cyrus: whereof if we transferred even the whole first year to the sum of years just gathered out of the Canon, as parallel to the seventy years which the Hebrew writers count from the first of Nebukhadrezzar to the first of Cyrus, still that sum so augmented would appear to be less than the Hebrew seventy-years by one year and seven or eight months.

But there is no inaccuracy here on either side. Every year is counted in the Canon, and there is no enlargement of the interval in the Hebrew reckoning. We learn from the prophet Daniel, who served the Chaldean, the Mede, and the Persian, that a Mede Darius, son of Ahasuerus, reigned first at Babylon after the capture of the city by the Medes and Persians; while Josephus (who certainly might, if he chose, have obtained, at least from the Jews of Babylonia, the best information on the subject,) states positively, that the Mede reigned *two* years. These years are not *dropt* by the Canon, but they are added to the ensuing reign of the victorious Cyrus, just as the last sixteen or seventeen months of the aged and politic Nabopolassar's reign are added to the ensuing years of the reign of his victorious son Nebukhadrezzar by the Hebrew annalists. It is the *name* only,

of Darius, son of Ahasuerus, which has disappeared in the greater splendour of that of Cyrus; even as the name of Belshazzar is lost in that of Nabonedus, the one which immediately precedes the name of Cyrus in the Canon. If so, the third year of Cyrus according to the Canon—or the year of Nabonassar's era 212, which began 4th January, B.C. 536, is the true ending-point in the Ptolemæan computation of that period of 70 years, whereof the Hebrew writers tell us. Now, if to the sum before obtained, of sixty-seven years and four or five months, are added two years for Darius the Mede's reign at Babylon, and eight or seven months out of the first year of the ensuing reign of Cyrus, according to the Hebrews (that is, of the third year of Cyrus according to the Canon), we get seventy years in the Canon answering to the Hebrew seventy which reach from the fourth year of Jehoiakim to the first year of Cyrus.

Nevertheless let us look yet more closely. These seventy years of the captivity of Judah began, as we have seen, in autumn B.C. 606, and, therefore, must end in autumn B.C. 536. The first year of Cyrus (or third in the view of those who passed over Darius the Mede) being, according to the Canon, the year of Nabonassar 212, began on the 4th of January, B.C. 536; and seven months of it had elapsed by the 4th day of August. Add seventeen days for solar time lost, at the rate of six hours a year in seventy years of Nabonassar, in the Babylonian or Ptolemæan register of "vague" years; and we have about 21st August, B.C. 536, for the end of the seventy years by the Canon. Now, a little (perhaps a month) later in the first year of Cyrus than this, the narrative of Ezra dates the first act of restoration in the land of Judah,—that is, *the first act of the seventy-first year*; I mean that fresh gathering of the exiles (who, on their first return from Babylon under the commission of Cyrus, had scattered to the several ancient homes of their aged men, or of their fathers in the land of Judah), when they again united together as one man to set up the altar of daily burnt sacrifice at Jerusalem, *on the first day of the seventh Mosaic month*, that is Tisri, the first of the civil year.

Here, then,—first having remarked that the seventy years captivity seem to be, like the regnal years of Jehoiakim and Hezekiah, Jewish civil years beginning with the Mosaic month Tisri; and withal having expressed the suspicion, in passing, that the regnal years of all the kings of Judah were also years of the civil calendar, though under the Persian empire the Jews counted the regnal years of the great king by the Mosaic calendar; we defer the inquiry whether the civil calendar at Samaria did not begin with the eighth month, to which Jeroboam had transferred the feast of tabernacles, and we sum

up what we have done hitherto in justification of Ptolemy's Canon. We have found, that from the first year of Mardokempadus to the third of Cyrus, according to the Canon,—that is, from the twenty-seventh year to the 212th of the æra of Nabonassar, or during its last 186 years, the portion of the Canon which we undertook to vindicate tallies accurately with the Hebrew computation of the length of the same interval.

Something yet remains to do. Usher or Clinton could have shown *how* the first twenty-six years of the 212 (that is, the years from the new-year's day of the first year of Nabonassar, to that of the first of Mardokempadus) coincide with as many regnal years of kings of Judah and Israel, *previous* to the fall of Samaria and the sixth year of Hezekiah, king of Judah ;—or (more accurately) *previous to a point of time earlier than these dates by six or seven months*. The chronologers, who rightly identify the third year of Cyrus according to the Canon, which omits the name of Darius, son of Ahasuerus, with the first year of Cyrus, according to Daniel, Ezra, and Josephus, whose calculation allows a reign of two years previously to Darius the Mede, were able (whether they have done it or not,) to fix the particular year of the reign of Pekah, king of Israel, at Samaria, and the particular year of Jotham, king of Judah, the grandfather of Hezekiah, at Jerusalem which was parallel to the first of Nabonassar, at Babylon, by the Canon. But no illustration of either Babylonian, or Hebrew, or other contemporary history, resulted as yet from the just observation. Now, however, through the labours of those to whom we owe the acquisition, decipherment, and translation of manifold monumental inscriptions pertaining to the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians, fragment after fragment of the contemporary annals of those nations comes to light, occasionally enabling the mere bystander to offer a useful suggestion. Information out of the store in the Hebrew records supplies to the explorer of Assyrian and Babylonian history the means of establishing that important synchronism, already conjectured by Sir H. C. Rawlinson to exist between Tiglath-Pilezer's first regnal year in Assyria, and the first of Nabonassar on the throne of Babylon. This synchronism, moreover, is a result which seems to prove that the first twenty-six years of the Canon are as accurately computed as we have shown the next 186 to be. If so, our task in behalf of the Canon is accomplished.

Extracts from the annals of Sargon, king of Assyria, enabled us to begin our work of vindication, and now an extract from those of Tiglath-Pilezer the second, king of Assyria, enables us to complete it. We are told of the annals of Tiglath-Pilezer (which were

defaced in the times of Sargon, or Sennacherib, and are preserved by Esarhaddon's having used the slabs on which they are written for building materials) that they extend, in a fragmentary manner, over a period of seventeen years. In the register of his campaigns is an invasion of Babylon in his first year, of which we should like to know more; and a campaign in his eighth year, which we are about to make use of. In it he came in contact with the Hebrew kingdoms whose capitals were Samaria and Jerusalem, and thus we obtain a synchronism between the Assyrian and the Hebrew annals, which helps us to the other synchronism we mentioned, between the Assyrian and the Babylonian annals in the commencement of the reigns of Tiglath-Pilezer in Assyria, and of Nabonassar at Babylon. Tiglath-Pilezer records, that, in the eighth year of his reign he defeated Rezin, king of Damascus, took and destroyed his city, received tribute from a king of Tyre, a queen of the Arabs, and a king of Samaria, whom, with a negligence not unsuitable to him, he calls by the name of that Menahem, king of Samaria, who had paid tribute to his own predecessor, Pul, king of Assyria. Now this expedition of Tiglath-Pilezer is easily recognized in Hebrew history, which records the catastrophe of Rezin and of his once powerful capital Damascus; telling us, moreover, that Ahaz, king of Judah, after having suffered terribly from the confederate kings, Pekah, son of Ramaliah, king of Israel, and Rezin, king of Damascus; also from the Edomites and Philistines; had invoked Tiglath-Pilezer with heavy gifts, and with the homage of a servant and a son, while the Assyrian king, disregarding the interests of Ahaz, for his own sake came up against the confederates, whose further aggrandizement he effectually arrested; for he took Damascus, put king Rezin to death, and carried the population captive to Kir. From Pekah, king of Israel, also he took Ijon, and Abel-beth-Manachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee,—all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captives to Assyria. This disaster appears to have been not unnaturally followed soon by the conspiracy against Pekah, who was assassinated by Hoshea.

Now, according to the Hebrew account, which makes the first year of Pekah's reign of twenty years in Samaria to be the last regnal year of Uzziah, king of Judah, whose son Jotham reigned sixteen years, and his son Ahaz another sixteen years, before Hezekiah, son of Ahaz, began to reign in Jerusalem, it appears that Pekah began to reign $1 + 16 + 16 + 5$, or altogether thirty-eight years, and was slain by Hoshea, 38—20, that is, eighteen years complete, or probably nineteen years current, before the commencement in autumn B.C. 721, of the sixth year of Hezekiah.

If now we may interpret the Assyrian record of Tiglath-Pilezer's expedition against Rezin and Pekah, to signify that Tiglath-Pilezer began to reign eight years before the death of Pekah; it will follow, that he began to reign in autumn B.C. 721 + 18 + 8, or B.C. 747. Now, by the calendar followed in the Babylonian or Ptolemæan Canon of reigns, the new-year's day next preceding, (which began at noon on the 26th of February, B.C. 747), is the new-year's day of the first regnal year of Nabonassar at Babylon, which regnal year is the twenty-sixth year before Mardokempadus's reign. Therefore, Tiglath-Pilezer, king of Assyria, and Nabonassar, king of Babylon, by a comparison of the Hebrew annals with those of Tiglath-Pilezer, are shown to have begun to reign in the same year, that is, 14 + 2 + 5 + 5, or twenty-six years of the Canon before the contemporary kings Sargon, king of Assyria, and Mardokempadus, king of Babylon.

Again, it is worthy of observation, that, if Tiglath-Pilezer reigned no more than seventeen years, the nine which remain for Shalmaneser and (possibly or conceivably) for one or more kings beside Shalmaneser between the end of the seventeenth of Tiglath-Pilezer and the beginning of the first year of Sargon, correspond in number, and within the fraction of a year in position, with those nine years (parallel with the last three of Ahaz and the first six of Hezekiah at Jerusalem), which the Hebrew records assign to Hoshea, the last king that reigned at Samaria. For this correspondence may suggest an explanation of the fact, that *another* previous nine years of the kingdom of Samaria is left without apparent mention of an occupant of the throne between Hoshea's assassination of Pekah and the noted commencement of his reign. It may be conjectured that *Hoshea reigned for two spaces of nine years a-piece; as Hezekiah, according to our supposition, was held to have reigned twice.* Indeed, a former reign of Hoshea is intimated in one place, where his first regnal year is made contemporaneous with the fourth of Ahaz, though this date is improperly designated the (16 + 4 =) twentieth of Jotham, who really reigned but sixteen years. This former reign of Hoshea extends from the death of Pekah, king of Samaria, to the end of the reign of Tiglath-Pilezer, king of Assyria, whose deputy Hoshea may have been. After Tiglath-Pilezer's death, Hoshea appears to have commenced a more independent reign: but Shalmaneser came up from Assyria, and made him tributary. He was then detected in treasonable communication with Sevekh, the Ethiopian king of Egypt, while, at the same time, his yearly gift to the king of Assyria remained unpaid. The Assyrian, therefore, imprisoned him, and began a siege of Samaria, which, after lasting three years, or three summers, ended by the capture of the city in the first year of Sargon, king of Assyria. We will only add,

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The date for the fall of Nineveh which Clinton (the great English chronologer of our age) has given us,—namely, B. C. 606, or E. N. 142,—is certainly somewhat too low, because (as we have shown, and as he admits) the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim, son of Josiah, at Jerusalem,—and the captivity at Babylon of Daniel with that first lot which Nebukhadrezzar transplanted of the people of Judah,—began not later than the autumn equinox in the same year, B. C. 606. For it is obviously in the highest degree improbable, that Nineveh and Jerusalem were both overpowered by the confederate Babylonians and Medes in the *same* summer.

It has been shown, that the fourth regnal year of Jehoiakim, and first of his vassalage to the Babylonian, in lieu of the Egyptian, is by Hebrew chroniclers counted the first year of his conqueror's reign; and that, agreeably with this view, they give forty-four years, and five or four months, to the reign of Nebukhadrezzar, instead of the forty-three years assigned to him by Ptolemy's Manual Table, and by Berosus. They esteem him king (and *second in the kingdom* he was), while his father Nabopolassar was yet alive, immediately after he had taken, and to some extent had plundered, their city;—beginning thereby to bring to pass those woes which, at the time of his predecessor Merodakh Baladan's embassy to Hezekiah,—in about the year B.C. 712, or E.N. 36,—the prophet Isaiah had foretold.

When we pronounce it *not to be believed*, that Nineveh and Jerusalem fell, both under the same victor, in the same campaign, we do not say, that Nebukhadrezzar, who had commanded the Babylonians for his father, when Nineveh was taken (as Astyages, or Ahasuerus, appears to have commanded the Medes for Cyaxares), may not have effected his conquests in the summer of B. C. 606 (the latter half of Jehoiakim's third year of reign at Jerusalem), with great rapidity. He may have been little hindered by any Egyptian forces that, perhaps, remained west of the River Euphrates, within the states that had transferred their allegiance from the falling king of Assyria to Pharaoh Nekho in B. C. 609; when, about May, attempting to bar the passage of the Pharaoh's army, Josiah, king of Judah, was defeated and slain. *Two* campaigns in succession, conducted by Nebukhadrezzar against Nekho, between the Euphrates and the Egyptian border, are recorded by Hebrew writers. *The first*, in which Jehoiakim, king of Judah, yielded to Nebukhadrezzar, was (as Daniel tells us) in the *third year* of Jehoiakim; that is, in the summer of B. C. 606. It was in the *next year*, or (as Jeremiah tells us), in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, that Nebukhadrezzar gained his great victory over Nekho at Karkhemish on the Euphrates. This place was the

butt at which Nekho, four years before, had aimed, when Nineveh was yet untaken. Nekho was returning hence for Egypt when, at Riblah in the land of Hamath, he made prisoner of Jehoahaz, who, for three months, by the gift of the people, had sat on his father Josiah's throne, and now apparently met Nekho with homage. Further on, at Jerusalem, Nekho made Jehoiakim his under-king and tributary, carrying off Jehoahaz into Egypt. If, then, after his victory and Josiah's death at Megiddo in B. C. 609, Nekho had won Karkhemish, this state may have remained allied or subject to him till the day of the battle in which he was defeated there on his second expedition in B. C. 605. Nebukhadrezzar may have left it in his rear untouched when, in the latter half of the third year of Jehoiakim, he marched upon and took Jerusalem. Just so, after the Babylonian retired, did Nekho, next year, leave Jerusalem behind him, when—to recover his share of the Assyrian spoils, and perhaps to relieve Karkhemish—he advanced against his Babylonian competitor to the Euphrates. His army is described, on this second occasion, as coming up out of Egypt like his own overflowing Nile. Besides his own people, the children of Mizraim, he brought with him, or he was in Asia joined by, other Hamite forces, children of Kush and children of Phut. He had Lydians with him too,—succours probably sent from Sardis by Alyattes, king of Lydia, to join him at Karkhemish. But there Nebukhadrezzar met him, “in the north beside the River Euphrates at the head of all the families of the north;” that is to say, the same allied nations that had overthrown Nineveh. The like success attended the northern army now, in the battle with Nekho. After his victory, Nebukhadrezzar appears to have again traversed, as he had the year before, the whole of Syria,—to have pursued his enemy into Egypt,—and even to have penetrated into that country. However, news reached him of his father's death, and arrested his career. For it is to Nebukhadrezzar's campaign, *in the fourth year of Jehoia-kim*, king of Judah, when, in the summer of B. C. 605, he won the great victory at Karkhemish;—it is *not* to his campaign in the third year of Jehoiakim, when in B. C. 606 he first subdued Jerusalem,—wresting *this*, and doubtless *other* Asiatic dependencies, from the king of Egypt,—that the account refers (preserved from the lost Chaldean history of Berosus) of a war which Nebukhadrezzar, at the head of his father's (Nabopolassar's) army, waged with the revolted “satrap” of Egypt, Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia. Nebukhadrezzar's permanent conquests were all that portion of the former Assyrian empire which Nekho had hoped to render dependent upon Egypt, when he joined or intruded into the coalition of the Babylonians, Medes, and other nations against

Nineveh. Berosus relates, that the conqueror returned to Babylon hastily,—crossing the desert with a small escort, while the bulk of his army, with a heavy train of spoils and captives, followed the ordinary line of march. Neither the Egyptians, nor even the Babylonians, are known to have this year visited Jerusalem. Having been left by the Egyptians in the rear,—a ready prize, if their king effected the purpose of his rapid advance upon Karkhemish,—and king Jehoiakim not having by openly befriending them provoked his new master to punish him, Jerusalem may have been passed by Nebukhadrezzar both as he pursued his enemy into Egypt and on his return homewards.

Thus the reign of Nebukhadrezzar, as measured by Chaldean annalists,—that is, his sole supremacy upon his father's death,—opened triumphantly in the fifth year of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, in B.C. 604 or E.N. 144. Then it happened, most fitly, that our God vouchsafed to his eyes in sleep that vision of the four empires (from first to last in a certain sense Babylonian) which, when the king had forgotten it, Daniel was enabled first to recall to the king's mind as a sign from God, or token that the truth was about to be delivered, and next to interpret. The king beheld a mighty image composed of four successive metals, as he viewed it, from head to foot; but having its head of the most precious, gold.

Such was the majesty and splendour of the throne of Babylon, when Nebukhadrezzar succeeded his father on it. Babylon had taken the place of Nineveh. But, *how long since?* Clinton's date, of B.C. 606, we have said, is too low, because it was certainly sooner in B.C. 606 than the autumn equinox, when the Babylonian general had wrested the kingdom of Judah from the king of Egypt. Had Nineveh yielded to the Babylonians and Medes, even early in that year, there would have been too much requiring the presence of the victorious leaders at the fallen capital, to allow of another joint expedition during the same year. Or, if it was expedient to march at once with divided forces, the Medes against Alyattes, king of Lydia, and his allies from the west, the Babylonians against the Pharaoh Nekho upon the Euphrates, still it is unlikely that the successes of the latter, and their general's ardour, would have possessed them so soon of a place so distant as Jerusalem.

But if B.C. 606, as we contend, is too late a year to have witnessed the fall of the Assyrian capital, the year B.C. 609, or at least the spring of that year, is certainly *too early*. It was then that Nekho led from Egypt his first expedition against Karkhemish, on the Euphrates, and by the way at Megiddo defeated and slew in battle

Josiah, king of Judah, who, at the head of all his forces, would not be dissuaded from his purpose to bar the Pharaoh's passage. For the defeat of Josiah, it is certain, happened three years and three months (that is, the space of the brief reign of Jehoahaz, son of Josiah, joined to the years of the vassalage to Egypt of Jehoiakim, son of Josiah) *before* the conquest of Judah, in B.C. 606 by the Babylonians. Now, Nekho's expedition (as Clinton has observed,) was undertaken against "the king of *Assyria*," against "a house that *made war with him*," a description which cannot designate Nabopolassar, king of Babylon and his house, as some recent writers have decided, placing the capture of Nineveh not later than the first year of Nabopolassar's reign at Babylon, namely, B.C. 625. The Hebrew writers do not describe Nebukhadrezzar, or Evil-Merodakh, or Belshazzar, as kings of Assyria, therefore, they do not mean Nebukhadrezzar's father by their description of the potentate Nekho marched against, whose cause Josiah, king of Judah, espoused, "the king of Assyria." Nor could Nabopolassar be regarded by Nekho as the representative of a "house that made war with him." For the kings of *Babylon*, hitherto, the predecessors of Nabopolassar, had been vassals of the kings of Assyria. But the kings of *Assyria* had been continually at war with Egypt. We know of such wars in the reigns of Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esar-haddon; and we think it probable, that the Scythian expedition, which, according to Herodotus, Nekho's father, king Psammetikhus, averted, marks an effort on the *Assyrian* side, (as Psammetikhus's capture of the Philistine Azotus, after twenty-nine years' blockade, indicates an effort on the part of Egypt,) *during the wars to which Nekho more particularly referred in his message to Josiah.* The fact that our God's vengeance, which Hebrew prophets had foretold, was at this time on the point of execution upon Nineveh, seems to have been a truth of which Nekho somehow was convinced; and Josiah, who ought to have been expecting it, could not have been bound by the terms of his dependence upon Assyria (if he, like some of his predecessors, was still a dependent,) to do more than sit in his capital, or, if attacked, to resist the enemies of Assyria within his own borders. Nekho (who had succeeded to the throne of Egypt not more than a year before,) was summoned (whether, like a vulture, by the *scent* of the distant prey, or somehow else,) to join the other ravening birds that were about to devour the expiring empire. Full of his enterprise, he warned Josiah, "What have I to do with thee, king of Judah? I mean not to attack thee, but the house that warreth upon me, and God hath bid me to make haste."

He had *need* to make haste, if he meant to take part in the danger of the conflict, and to earn his share of the gains which awaited the conquerors of Assyria. If we suppose that Nineveh was now already besieged, and believe the tale of Ktesias, that it was blockaded for two years before it was taken, we may understand years current, and place the capture in B.C. 608, even as early as the month of May. At that season of the year, the River Tigris, which from September to January is low, has swelled to its highest annual level. An extraordinary fall of rain may also have happened in the mountains, adding more than the season's increase to the strength and volume of the tributary river Khösr, and enabling it (like a pioneer of the besiegers) to break the dams which barred its entrance into the city, on its way to the Tigris, near the eastern wall. That *water* was really instrumental, as related by Ktesias, in the taking of Nineveh by the Babylonians and Medes, is confirmed by the expression of the prophet Nahum "the gates of the rivers are open, and the palace is destroyed." But of the walls contiguous to the Tigris, our Society has been informed, in a paper read to a Meeting, and printed in the Journal, that (as regards the admission of the river) they are as perfect as ever, there being, in fact, no trace of a rupture on the side of the Tigris which can be attributed to that river. Our informant, Captain Felix Jones, of the Indian Navy, conducted, it is known, a scientific survey of the site and vestiges of the Assyrian cities. But Nahum's expression "the palace is destroyed," may foretell the burning of the palace over his head by the besieged Saraksh.

Thus far we have found that B.C. 606 is too low, and B.C. 609 is too high, a date for the capture of Nineveh; and between these two points we have been led to fix upon B.C. 608 rather than B.C. 607, as the true date. But the argument we rely upon *chiefly*, to show that the Assyrian capital was taken in B.C. 608, may be stated thus: Jeremiah the prophet, utters this decree of "The Most High," (who "ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will,") that Judah and the neighbouring nations should serve the king of Babylon seventy years, and, after the seventy years should be accomplished, the God of Israel would punish the king of Babylon and the country of the Chaldeans: that great kings and great nations should subdue them, that what they had done to others should be recompensed to themselves, and, in the end, they should become a perpetual desolation." When then, did these seventy years of Chaldean empire begin? Not with the fourth year of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, and that first captivity of Jews at Babylon, in which Daniel shared; for, in that case, the period would end (along with the seventy years

of Jewish captivity), in the third year after the capture of Babylon by the Medes and Persians under Cyrus; when the successful Persian General, becoming king, (in succession to Darius, son of Ahasuerus the Mede), sent off Zorobabel, and such of the Jews as chose to offer themselves, to rebuild the temple of Jehovah at Jerusalem. In other words, the seventy years of Chaldean supremacy could not have begun so late as B.C. 606, or it would have ended in B.C. 536; whereas, in fact, Babylon was taken, and her supremacy (*titular*, as well as *real*), totally ceased in B.C. 538. But if the supremacy of Babylon ended in B.C. 538, its seventy years duration must have begun in B.C. 608; and as this is about two full years earlier than the *earliest* (that is, the *Hebrew*) date, for the commencement of Nebukhadrezzar's glorious reign, it is a date which can only mark the succession (not of the Medes, as writers have generally followed the erroneous views of Herodotus's contemporaries in supposing), but, of the Babylonians, to the imperial pre-eminence of Nineveh, on the overthrow of that great seat of empire. Nineveh, therefore, was taken in B.C. 608, and the space of time from its siege and capture to the like siege, and capture of Babylon by the Medes and Persians, constitutes the period allotted by our God, the God of Israel, for the supremacy of Babylon: just as from the first appearance of Nebukhadrezzar at Jerusalem, and from the first pillage of the temple and transportation of Jews to Babylon, the space that intervened to the first return of the transported under Zorobabel, and the first restoration of Divine Worship, by the rebuilding of the altar for daily sacrifice at Jerusalem, was seventy years.

In the source of the matter of the present paper, an unprinted work, entitled "Esther and her lord identified in the Persian annals," (where I have shown that Esther is Atossa, queen of Darius, son of Hystaspes, and I have sketched Darius's history to the end of his seventh regnal year), I have had occasion to point out, that the time which elapsed from Nebukhadrezzar's final siege and capture of Jerusalem, to the final siege and capture of Babylon, by Vindafra the Mede, in the reign of the son of Hystaspes, was according to prophecy a desolation of seventy years to yet unavenged Jerusalem.

With reference to our conclusion that the Babylonian supremacy began, and, consequently, that Nineveh must have fallen, in B.C. 608, an argument might be produced to show that the fact is distinctly attested in Hebrew Scripture. But into this argument, which depends on the genuineness of the name "Jehoiakim," in the first verse of the twenty-seventh chapter of Jeremiah, we cannot enter here. The text as it stands, intimates that the seventy years of power, given by Go

to Babylon, commenced in the first year of Jehoiakim; that is, in a year which ended in autumn, B.C. 608. Now that the same seventy years ended on the capture of Babylon, by Cyrus, in B.C. 538, E.N. 210, may be intimated in Daniel's statement, that *in the first year of Darius the Mede's reign*, he applied himself to our God, in behalf of himself and his captive brethren, with confession and prayer, *after having understood that the number of the years, of which Jehovah had spoken to Jeremiah, to finish the desolation of Jerusalem, was seventy years*. Daniel had not learnt,—what appeared in time,—from God's revelations to Jeremiah, that there were *three periods, of seventy years a-piece,—not one only*, to be accomplished. One such period was plainly ended in the first year of the reign of Darius the Mede; namely, that assigned to the Chaldean empire of Nebukhadrezzar, of his son, and of his son's son; and Daniel, who saw this, must have counted that period from B.C. 608, or, more correctly speaking, from the fall of Nineveh, in E.N. 140. Two other periods, each of seventy years likewise, were as yet incomplete; one of them (coeval with Daniel's own captivity, and mentioned in Jeremiah's letter to the transported at Babylon), having yet two years to run. The other (which, as we learn from the prophet Zechariah, was yet enduring in the second year of Darius, the Persian, son of Hystaspes), wanted now twenty-one years of its completion, being the period of the desolation of Jerusalem and the sanctuary therein; for this desolation, dated from the destruction of the city and temple by Nebukhadrezzar.

Sufficient reason seems now to have been offered for our belief, that Nineveh was taken by the Babylonians and Medes, in the year B.C. $(538 + 70 =) 608$; that is, in the year E.N. $(210 - 70 =) 140$; and towards the close of the first year of Jehoiakim, son of Josiah, king of Judah. But to fortify our conclusion, let us go on to examine the process whereby Clinton, to whom so much deference is due, was led to fix this event, in B.C. 606, and in the third year of Jehoiakim. Clinton conceived, that he was sustained by the testimony of Herodotus; and his representation of the matter may be stated thus: "Nineveh was taken in the reign of Cyaxares, son of Phraortes the Mede, *after* (say, *immediately after*) twenty-eight years of a Scythian domination, which commenced *after* (say, *immediately after*) the accession of Cyaxares. Now, this accession (says he) was in the year B.C. 634, and since B.C. $634 - 28 =$ B.C. 606, the capture of Nineveh may be placed in this latter year: the same year in which before August, and while the third year of Jehoiakim was still current, Nebukhadrezzar appeared at Jerusalem." But the testimony of Herodotus, even when understood and put together as by Clinton, really fixes the capture of

Nineveh *a year lower* :—that is, in B.C. 605, the year following Nebukhadrezzar's first conquest of Jerusalem, when, at the head of his father's forces and "all the families of the north," after defeating Nekho, king of Egypt, on the Euphrates near Karkhemish, he over-ran Syria a second time, and apparently carried devastation into Egypt. Herodotus tells us, that Cyaxares, son of Phraortes, became king ($40 + 35 + 29 + 8 + 36$, or, altogether 148 years, before the reign of Xerxes, son of Darius; that is, according to Ptolemy's Canon, before the year B.N. 263, which is, B.C. 485. Now, $B.C. 485 + 148 = B.C. 633$. This, therefore, is the year according to Herodotus, in which Cyaxares, son of Phraortes, came to the throne. Herodotus's particulars which we have summed up into 148 years, are these :—the reign of Cyaxares himself, including the twenty-eight years of the Scythians in Asia, forty years; the reign of his son and successor, Astyages, thirty-five years; the reigns of two successors of the dethroned Astyages (or, as Herodotus took them, the one reign of Cyrus) twenty-nine years; the reign of Cambyses, son of Cyrus, including the first seven months of the Magian's usurpation, eight years; and the reign of Darius, including the eighth and last month of the Magian whom he slew, thirty-six years. These particulars, prefixed to the year of the first of Xerxes, B.C. 485, make, as we have said, the year B.C. 633, to be the first of Cyaxares. If Clinton makes the first of Cyaxares to be B.C. 634, it is *by deserting his own witness* Herodotus, and by following other authority for the length of reign of Cyrus, or the interval between the reign of Astyages, and that of Cambyses the conqueror of Egypt. This he represents as having lasted not twenty-nine but thirty years. Now he would certainly have owned, that the date for the fall of Nineveh obtained in his own way by deducting Herodotus's twenty-eight years of the Scythians, from B.C. 633, (the real Herodotean date for Cyaxares the Mede's accession,) that is, that B.C. 605 is *not* the true year of the catastrophe, but *below* it. But, if so, the true date of the fall of Nineveh cannot be obtained from Ptolemy's Canon, by the help of Herodotus;—at least *according to Clinton's process*.

One element in the process of calculation there is, whereon we have observations to offer, which we think important. It is *the length of that Scythian domination, in the time of Cyaxares, son of Phraortes, which delayed the overthrow of the Assyrian empire*. That the years of the Scythians in Asia were twenty-eight, Herodotus tells us in two widely-divided passages of his great work, and a variety of expression in regard of the number (which he terms "eight and twenty years" in one place, and in the other "years thirty all but two,") seems to assure us, that our present copies do not misrepresent his measurement.

The *thing measured*, however, is not described in both passages of his history in the same manner. In his fourth book, he calls it the absence of the Scythian warriors from their own country in Europe ; in his first book, it is termed the Scythian dominion in Asia. Of the length of time, however, that this dominion endured, *another estimate* is discernible in Herodotus's story. For though, in one part, by giving us the lengths of the Median reigns, (of Deiokes, 53 ; of Phraortes, 22 ; of Cyaxares, 40 ; and of Astyages, 35 years,) from the commencement, as he counted it, of Median independence, to what he held to be the Persian conquest, he enables us to say, that the Median dominion lasted 150 years ; yet, about twenty-four chapters afterwards, he tells us expressly that "besides" or "more than" (*παρὰ τὴν*) that is, "*exclusively of*" the years during which the Scythians ruled in the time of Cyaxares, the Medes had the dominion for 128 years. Now, though our author was by no means a clever arithmetician, it is unnecessary to accuse him here of miscalculation. Rather, we have here a valuable piece of original information which he has reported, heedless, or unconscious, of its apparent discrepancy with the other numbers that he had in like manner obtained and reported. If so, the new statement (when compared with what the historian had told before) intimates that 150—128, or twenty-two years, was the time, not twenty-eight years, during which the Medes succumbed to the Scythians. And we are led to think that the twenty-eight years are rather the measure of the Scythian *absence in Asia*, as Herodotus represents the matter in one place, than the measure of their *dominion abroad*, as he puts it in the other. But this suspicion as to a point in Herodotus's *Median* history is confirmed, and appears to be the very truth, by the light of his previous Lydian history. He had told us *there*, that Cyaxares the Mede, whose reign of forty years includes the Scythian twenty-eight, waged a war for *six* years, with Alyattes, father of Cræsus, king of Lydia, on account of certain *Scythians* who had taken refuge with Alyattes ; and in the war he appears to have been aided by the Babylonians, while Alyattes was supported by the Cilicians ; whose many wars with Assyrian monarchs are noted in the disinterred annals of those great kings. *Six* being the *exact difference* between twenty-eight and twenty-two, we are now convinced, or confirmed in the idea, that twenty-eight years was the measure of the *whole space of time* that the Scythians of Europe were absent in their Asiatic wars, and that, during the first twenty-two years, the Medes submitted to their insults and exactions, while, on the contrary, during the last six, they were pursued by the Medes and Babylonians, but were backed by the Lydians and Cilicians. It is also easy to perceive, that the Scythians, whose arrival in Asia delivered Nineveh

for a time, were a host of Assyrian mercenaries, and that the six years' war which (with the Lydians and Cilicians) they sustained against the Babylonians and Medes, must have followed the fall of Nineveh.

As to the purpose of the Scythian entry into Asia, critics have already remarked, that it cannot (in consistency with the dates given) be attributed, as by Herodotus, to a desire of pursuing the Cimmerians, whose country in Europe, north of the Euxine or Black Sea, they had occupied; causing thereby the first step we know of in that progress to the west which carried the sons of Gomer, from whom the modern Cymry seem to be descended, to the Cimbrian peninsula and into the British Isles. Like other wealthy empires in their decay, the Assyrians, finding it difficult to resist the rising power of the Medes, notwithstanding the defeat and death of Phraortes, father of Cyaxares, called in a barbarian army to fight their battles and to enable them to keep their dependents in submission. For a long space of time those barbarians, "besides the regular tribute," says Herodotus, (which was due to the Assyrians,) "exacted from the several nations additional imposts, which they fixed at pleasure," (on their own account); "and further, they scoured the country, plundering every one of whatever they could. At length, Cyaxares and the Medes invited the greater part of them" (that were in Media, at least,) "to a banquet, and made them drunk with wine, after which they were all massacred." (Some, however, it is admitted, fled to Alyattes, king of Lydia.) "The Medes then recovered their empire." "They took Nineveh, and conquered all Assyria, except the province of Babylon." "After this Cyaxares died." Such, with one or two added expressions, is Herodotus's report of an account coloured, we believe, after the fall of Babylon, by the Medes.

We know more particularly, from Chaldean sources, that Nabopolassar, the Assyrian viceroy at Babylon, having first joined with him the Medes, taking a daughter of their king, (that is, as Herodotus would teach us, of Cyaxares,) to be wife of his son Nebukhadrezzar, made war with the king of Nineveh, and that the allied forces (the Medes, apparently, commanded by Astyages or Aliasuerus, son of Cyaxares, and the Babylonians by Nebukhadrezzar,) took Nineveh; its king, (or, perhaps, the Scythian general,) Saracus, or Saraklsh burning the palace over his head.

Then, as Herodotus has taught us to perceive, a war ensued between the victors and Alyattes, king of the Lydians, among whose forces the remains of the Scythian mercenaries of Assyria were now included. This lasted till, on the occasion of the sun being eclipsed during a great battle in the sixth year, peace was concluded between

the Asiatic belligerents; Alyattes, it is said, giving a daughter in marriage to Astyages, son of Cyaxares, and (it appears) the surviving Scythian warriors quitting Asia for domestic wars in Europe.

The eclipse, which thus terminated the Scythian wars in Asia, and made peace between the Lydians and the Medes, has been called *the eclipse of Thales*, because, in the days of Herodotus, it was believed by his countrymen to be one which their Ionian philosopher had predicted. It has been identified by various authors with one in B.C. 610, one in B.C. 603, and one in B.C. 585. But if our argumentation hitherto has been well based and well conducted, by which, having previously vindicated the early chronology of Ptolemy's Manual Canon (*καὶνὴν προχείριος*), we have proved that Nineveh was taken in B.C. 608; and we have concluded that, of the twenty-eight years spent in Asia by the Scythians, twenty-two preceded and six followed the fall of that city;—it will be manifest that the eclipse which stopped the battle between the Lydians and the Medes was (as the chronologers Clinton and Hales believe,) the one which happened, as astronomers tell us, in the morning of the 17th of May, (or, speaking by the Roman Calendar, the forenoon of the 18th of May,) B.C. 603.

If so, the first campaign of the war of the Medes with Alyattes, it will appear, was carried on in that very year, B.C. 608, in which the Babylonians and Medes took Nineveh. Hostilities may have commenced in an endeavour, on the part of Alyattes and his allies, with the relics of the Scythians, to relieve the besieged capital. They may have crossed Mount Taurus, and reached the Upper Euphrates, with a friendly purpose to the besieged, as the year before, desiring to win what he could from the beleaguered enemy, Nekho had advanced from Egypt to Karkhemish, on a lower part of the river.

Again, if our criticism be just as to the division of the eight-and-twenty years of the Scythian stay,—for, according to it, this barbarian host arrived in aid of the Assyrians, twenty-two years before the fall of Nineveh, and disappeared from Asia six years after that event,—it will appear, that it was in the fifth year before the accession of Nabopolassar to the dependent throne of Babylon, and in the tenth year of the reign of Josiah, king of Judah, when the Scythians delivered Nineveh from the Medes, who, under their new king Cyaxares, were hoping to avenge the late defeat and death of Phraortes, father of Cyaxares. It was also the twentieth year before the accession of Nekho in Egypt, when, however, his father Psammetikhos had already (according to Herodotus) reigned thirty-four years. Again (if a date which we shall offer as that of Herodotus

for the overthrow of the Lydian Crœsus, son of Alyattes, be correct,) it was in the sixth year before the accession of Alyattes, king of the Lydians, when his father, Sadyattes, had been already six years on the throne, and a yet longer interval had elapsed since the Cimmerians, driven from their homes by the Scythians, had entered Asia, and there, like the Gauls at Rome, had captured the Lydian capital Sardis, all but the citadel. For B.C. 625, the first year of Napolassar +5 years, and B.C. 639, the first year of Josiah—9 years, and B.C. 610, the first year of Nekho, son of Psammetikhus +20 years, and B.C. 553, the year after the capture of Sardis by the Medes under Cyrus +14, the years of the reign of Crœsus, son of Alyattes +57 years, that Alyattes reigned, +6 years, the latter half of the reign of Sadyattes, in whose father's reign Sardis was sacked by the Cimmerians,—amount all four to the year B.C. 630, which is twenty-two years before B.C. 608, the date which we have ascertained for the capture of Nineveh.

The view now obtained of the relations between the Scythians and the Medes, during the reign of Cyaxares, son of Phraortes; reconciles the apparently conflicting estimates of the length of the Median Rule, which Herodotus has been supposed to give, and on which so much has been conjectured; while it agrees perfectly with the conclusions which we before obtained, as to the fall of Nineveh and the establishment of the Babylonian power under Nebukhadrezzar, son of Nabopolassar. It moreover *confirms the conclusion, to which Herodotus's testimony leads us*, that Cyaxares began to reign in (or near about) the year B.C. 633. For Herodotus's story of Cyaxares supposes, that, *after* the date at which (on his father Phraortes's falling in battle with the Assyrians,) he succeeded to the command of the Medes, and *before* the date of the defeat which he sustained from the Scythians, an interval of not less than three campaigns elapsed. He had meanwhile renewed his father's war with the Assyrians; he had gained a battle; he had approached the walls of Nineveh, before the Scythians, fresh from the mountain gates of Caucasus, appeared, an army and not a horde; for it is expressly related that their women were left behind in their own country. The Scythians quickly overpowered Cyaxares, and made him tributary: that is, *to Assyria*. Afterwards their detachments appear to have overspread both Media and other regions of Asia. They advanced even into Palestine, where Josiah sat on the throne of Judah, to punish the distant Psammetikhus, king of Egypt, who had on that side overstepped the border claimed by the Assyrians.

We now see clearly, what we intimated before, in our view of the

establishment of the power, to which, on his father's death, Nebukhadrezzar succeeded,—that the war which Herodotus has recorded, of Alyattes against the Medes and Babylonians in the north, was connected with that which the Hebrew Jeremiah, and the Babylonian historian Berosus, have recorded of Pharaoh Nekho against the Babylonians and their allies in the south. The war of Alyattes was intended, perhaps, at first, to relieve Nineveh, while that of Nekho was dictated by old animosity. Yet, from the date of Nekho's second march to the Euphrates, in B.C. 605, the hostility of both became a great combination of forces against the Babylonians and Medes, like that later one against the Medes and Persians, which consisted of the Lydians under Cræsus, the Egyptians under Amasis, and the weakened Babylonians under Nabonêdus. We have observed that Nekho had Lydians, as well as children of Cush and Phut, in his army at Karkhemish, when, Nineveh having fallen since he first extended his frontier to the Euphrates, on his second expedition thither he was defeated by Nebukhadrezzar in B.C. 605. In the following year, B.C. 604, Nebukhadrezzar, whose father was now dead, had the dream at Babylon, which Daniel recalled to his memory and interpreted. Again, in the next year, B.C. 603, being engaged along with the Medes against the Lydians and their allies, it appears from Herodotus, he negotiated a peace in the north, on the occasion of the eclipse. Perhaps, Jehoiakim, king of Judah, who, originally Nekho's vassal, remained, we know, three years true to his new lord, Nebukhadrezzar, was this year encouraged by Nekho to revolt, in some degree at least, on the ground of the war with which the Babylonians were still distracted against Alyattes. If so, he must have revolted before he was reached at Jerusalem by the news of the peace which the eclipse of May the 17th caused to be agreed upon. In any case, his revolt at this time indicates the wisdom of the Babylonian in seizing the opportunity to make peace with the Lydians and Cilicians.

If the historian's work may be called a map of the bygone acts and fortunes of states and individuals, we may describe what we have now done, if successful, as a contribution in aid, by which we have placed in its true parallel position and real bearing on contemporary events that Herodotean period, the twenty-eight years of Scythian war in Asia. This position, extending, as we have shown, from the twenty-second year before, to the sixth year after, the fall of Nineveh, is alone evidence of the character in which those barbarians played a part in the wars on the opposite confines of the tract of vassal kingdoms over which the last Assyrian kings strove to maintain the dominion acquired by their predecessors in so many invasions and

victories. That character is still more apparent, after the capture of the Assyrian capital, in the wars which the victorious Babylonians and Medes, on the one side, and, on the other, the Egyptians, the Lydians and the Cilicians waged, over the Assyrian inheritance.

Further, (as we have slightly suggested already,) the capture of Nineveh having been found to stand in B.C. 608, by evidence quite conclusive, as we think, and independent of Herodotus's testimony, while the twenty-second year before that event, the first year of the Scythians, is therefore fixed to B.C. 630, we have gained an *unexpected confirmation of the accuracy of Herodotus's Median chronology*, according to which the accession of King Cyaxares (described apparently as having happened two or three campaigns only before the Scythians came in aid of Nineveh,) is fixed in B.C. 633. For, if we may accept the computation of regnal periods up to the accession of Cyaxares, we have good reason to accept it also for the two preceding reigns of Deiokes and Phraortes, though we may suspect that Deiokes (whether Arab, Armenian, or what not,) was really a vassal of Assyria, appointed king of the Medes by Sargon, in B.C. 708.

If now we are authorized to accept Herodotus's Median chronology, at least up to the accession of Cyaxares, son of Phraortes, in B.C. 633,—it follows, that the dethroned Astyages was succeeded,—not indeed by Cyrus himself (as Herodotus had been led to believe)—but by another Median king (apparently his own son) twenty-nine years before the accession to the then Perso-Median throne, of the Persian conqueror of Egypt Cambyses son of Cyrus. That is, Astyages was dethroned in B.C. $(529 + 29 =) 558$, or E.N. $(219 - 29 =) 190$,—which year was counted the second of the reign of Neriglissar, king of Babylon. With this date of the fall of king Astyages is connected the Herodotean date which we promised to point out, for the overthrow by the same great leader, commanding for Astyages's successor, of Croesus, king of the Lydians.

Our conclusion, that we may confidently follow Herodotus in counting E.N. 190, or B.C. 558, for the first regnal year of Astyages's successor (whom we take to be Darius, son of Ahasuerus the Mede) is strongly confirmed, by a fact which Mr. Bosanquet has adduced, and with which I was first made acquainted by a paper of his in a volume which he most kindly sent me of the Transactions of the Chronological Institute.

Xenophon tells us of a city, where, at the time "*when the Persians were taking from the Medes their empire*," a phenomenon happened, which, as commentators have supposed, was really a total eclipse of the sun. The place being known, astronomers have been called upon to tell

the particular eclipse. The place, when the Greek division of the younger Cyrus's army encamped there, on their retreat up the left bank of the Tigris, was a deserted city, a little above the confluence of the Zapatas with the Tigris. It was called Larissa, and had a pyramid of stone adjoining it. As undoubtedly the Zapatas (distant fifty parasangs, or 1500 stades, from the city Opis, which stood on the Physkus river above its junction with the Tigris), was the Greater Zab, so likewise undoubtedly Larissa, with its pyramid, was the old Assyrian Calah, now Nimrúd, the mine from which Mr. Layard has extracted so many precious relics of the arts, and records of the royal achievements, of Assyria. Xenophon's account of the city is composed in part of what he saw himself, in part of what he appears to have picked up on the spot during the five eventful days which had elapsed since the army first reached the Zab. Part of this hearsay must have concerned the present; part was a tradition of the past. "This great deserted city on the Tigris, named Larissa, had been of old tenanted by the Medes. Of its wall the breadth was five and twenty feet, the height a hundred, the compass two parasangs, and it had been built of potter's clay bricks (*πλινθοῖς κεραμαῖς*). Under it was a basement wall (*κρηπίς*) of stone, the height of twenty feet. This city the Persians' king,—when the Persians were taking from the Medes their empire,—besieged, but could not in any way capture. But a cloud that had covered the face of the sun caused it to disappear until the men evacuated it; and so it was taken. Beside it was a pyramid of stone, the breadth of one *plethrum*, the height of two. On this were many of the barbarians, fled from the neighbouring villages."

Such is Xenophon's account of Larissa. Higher up the Tigris the army, at the end of its next march (a distance of six parasangs), came to a great deserted wall close to a city, which, whether equally solitary or not, was named Mespila. Xenophon's account of it is, "The Medes once used to inhabit it. The basement of the wall was of chiselled shell-stone, *λίθου ξέστου κογκυλιαίου*, fifty feet in breadth and fifty in height. On this had been built a brick wall fifty feet broad and 100 high, and its circle's compass was six parasangs. Here Medeia, wife of the king, was said to have taken refuge, when the Medes lost their empire by the Persians. This city the king of the Persians besieging could not capture, either by time or by force. But the God of heaven (or *Zeus*, as Xenophon names him) strikes stupid (*εμβροντητοὺς ποιεῖ*) the inhabitants, and so it was taken."

It would appear then, that, about fifty years after the conquest of Assyria by the Babylonians and Medes, both Nineveh and Calah, having been occupied by the Medes (but perhaps only as a Baby-

lonian dependency,—for Nebukhadrezzar had officers under him named *satraps*),—were besieged by the forces of Cyrus, when the Persians (and according to Herodotus the disaffected Medes) under his command, deprived Astyages of his throne. Otherwise we must think that Xenophon has put “Medes” for “Assyrians,” not only in his account of the cities on the Tigris, but where he makes the left hand bank of the river from the confluence of the Physkus upward to be “land of *Media*,” and the wall, which appears to have run from the Tigris, opposite the mouth of the Physkus nearly to the Euphrates, the “wall of *Media*.” But the new, and apparently Aryan, names of Mespila and Larissa, given to the Assyrian cities,—with the fact that Herodotus calls the country between Armenia and Kissia the land of *Matienians*,—seem to forbid such imputation against Xenophon’s accuracy. If, then, the inhabitants of Larissa, when besieged by the army of Cyrus, did really escape under cover of a solar eclipse, we may readily believe that this was the eclipse which, according to the astronomers on whom Mr. Bosanquet relies, happened on the 19th of May, B.C. 557; for of this, according to Hansen’s Tables, the dark shadow, not more than thirty miles broad, passed directly over Nimrūd, the Calah of the Assyrians and Larissa of the Medes.

Now, when we have apologized for being led by the ancient existence of the name in Thessaly to conjecture that Larissa was an appellation given by Aryan-Medes to the re-occupied Calah; inasmuch as (*Larsa* being, according to Sir H. C. Rawlinson the Chaldean name given in the inscriptions to the modern Senkereh), the name might indicate a Chaldean occupation of the Assyrian city, or, at least, one made by a portion of the aboriginal inhabitants of the country where the Aryan-Medes made themselves supreme, we will proceed.

If, in Xenophon’s account of the siege of Larissa, the eclipse of May, B.C. 557, be really referred to, we have another surprising confirmation of the accuracy of Herodotus’s Median chronology. Already we have seen his date for the accession of Cyaxares, B.C. 633, confirmed by a date deduced from a different source, that of the Scythian invasion in B.C. 630. Now we find, that, whereas he makes B.C. 190 or B.C. 558 the first regnal year of Astyages’s successful competitor, the siege of a city belonging either to Astyages or to Astyages’s Babylonian allies, Larissa, lasted till 19th May, B.C. 557. The reign of Astyages’s successor would be counted from the year of his revolt, or, at least, the year of his first victory, and the war may well have lasted two years. If the two battles recorded by Herodotus in which

Astyages was defeated, and in the latter of which (at Agbatana, as Herodotus seems to intimate), he was taken prisoner by Cyrus, were both fought in B.C. 558, and that flight of the Median queen to Mespila of which Xenophon speaks followed the capture of Astyages, the sieges of Mespila and Larissa would naturally belong to B.C. 557, the year of the eclipse. We may even suspect that *Media* the nation (not *Medæa*, a queen), being conquered, fled to her neighbour.

Having shown above that Herodotus's date for the overthrow of Astyages, or for the first year of the defeats in which the reign of Astyages terminated, B.C. 558, is correct, we proceed, now, to extract from his evidence a date for the fall of the last Lydian king, Cræsus, son of Alyattes. Of this event, which was intimately connected with the fall of Astyages, Herodotus, whose chronological information was precise and accurate, has left the date obscure,—probably from an inadvertence in such particulars which must have been part of his character.

But he gives us clearly to understand, that, after the overthrow of Astyages, Cræsus was roused, at last, from a grief for the loss of his son Atys, which had engrossed him for two full years previously. Why is this measure of the engrossing grief of Cræsus given, and calculated, too, not from his *accession*, but from the *end* of his reign? If Herodotus had no purpose in telling it, there was a reason for the calculation in the narrative which he had heard. But he tells us that Cræsus,—now aroused and meditating war with the conqueror of Astyages,—consulted the Delphian and other oracles, formed an alliance in Greece with Sparta the leading state, and obtained promises of co-operation from Labynetos or Nabonedus, king of the Babylonians, and from Amasis, king of the Egyptians. These preparations made, he crossed the river Halys, which divided him and his vassals from the Median empire; conquered the White Syrians of Pteria in Cappadocia; and, on the arrival of Cyrus, fought an undecisive battle with him. Then interding a second campaign next spring he retired within his own border to his capital, where,—after he had disbanded his forces and had sent messengers to Nabonedus, to Amasis, and to the Lacedæmonians, requiring their forces to be with him at Sardis in the fifth month to come, Cyrus appeared, with all his forces, defeated the Lydians, besieged the city, and, after fourteen days, took it with Cræsus captive. Further, Herodotus tells us, that the Delphian god replied to the reproaches of Cræsus, that he had obtained a delay of the inevitable event for three full years; so that the Lydian had become Cyrus's bondsman three years *later* than he had been predestined. Now, as we asked of the measure of Cræsus's apathy of grief, just so

we ask again of this measure of the delay of his overthrow; *for what purpose* is it given? The apology for Apollo, whoever originally made it, must have rested on a *fact*, of which Herodotus undoubtedly was informed, though he has neglected to give it prominence,—that from the time when Crœsus was roused at last from his two years of apathy, and consulted the Delphian oracle, to the date of the capture of Sardis, there intervened the space of three years. If, then, Crœsus's two years' grief for Atys was reported to be his inactive employment while Astyages was fighting for his throne in B.C. 558, and while Mespila and Larissa were besieged in B.C. 557,—the three full years between his awaking and the fall of Sardis will be the years B.C. 556, 555, and 554. Sardis, which according to Herodotus, fell in late autumn or early winter, must have been captured, according to his information, most probably at the latter end of the year B.C. 554; that is, E.N. 194; possibly in B.C. 553.

This calculation is supported by the Parian marble; for the first of *Apollo's* three years, B.C. 556, is exactly the date obtained from the marble, for the embassy of Crœsus to the Delphian oracle. The mutilated date of the marble in Selden's time, was restorable with certainty, (in English) thus, "[two hundreds, one fifty], four tens and two years before" the year of the marble itself. Thus it was originally equivalent to 292 + B.C. 264, that is, B.C. 556, the first year of the fifty-sixth Olympiad. Again, the co-operation agreed to by Amasis and Nabonedus, which Crœsus invoked in B.C. 554, when he returned from his campaign beyond the Halys, is consistent with Ptolemy's Canon of Babylonian reigns, where, to Nabonedus, for his first regnal year, the year, E.N. 193 is assigned; which year began the 9th of January, B.C. 555, and was the second of the three years which Apollo claimed to have gained for Crœsus.

Thus, since Herodotus tells us also that Crœsus reigned fourteen years in all, we may conclude that his *last five* were the first five counted by Herodotus's authority to the successor of Astyages,—extending from B.C. 558 to B.C. 554,—while his *first nine* were the *last nine* counted by the same authority to Astyages himself. Of those nine, the *first six years* will be the *last six* of the reign of the great Nebukhadrezzar, king of Babylon,—who mediated the peace, in the days of Alyattes father of Crœsus, after the eclipse in May B.C. 603. The first year of Crœsus appears to have been the third of the Egyptian Amasis his ally—who apparently began his reign as a vassal of Nebukhadrezzar's. Related with one another, and with the great king, by intermarriage,—Astyages and Crœsus, perhaps, still venerated the Babylonian throne, while it was occupied by Evil-Merodakh by

Nerigliassar, and for less than a year by Laborosoarkhod son of Nerigliassar, the predecessor of Nabonedus; and, if so, their policy was *opposed* to the idea of a new supremacy in Asia, which may have been one of the objects of the discontented Medes, when they rebelled against Astyages.

Having found, as we promised, a Herodotean date for the fall of the Lydian monarchy in the end of the year B.C. 554, we have only to observe further on this head that the dates of accession of the kings Cræsus, Alyattes, and their predecessors, may now be determined,—according to the view of Herodotus's informants—by prefixing the length of their reign, or reigns, to the year B.C. 553 (E.N. 195), that is, to the twenty-fourth year preceding the first regnal year of the Persian Cambyzes.

One other topic remains. The astronomical information, for which the writer is indebted to Mr. Bosanquet, concerning the date of the eclipse that closed the siege mentioned by Xenophon of Larissa, confirms, as we have seen, the dates which we have extracted from Herodotus for the overthrow, not only of Astyages, king of the Medes, but of Cræsus, king of the Lydians—those first two strides whereby the Persian conqueror Cyrus advanced to the subversion of the supremacy that, after the fall of Nineveh, had devolved upon the throne of Nebukhadrezzar, and on the nation of the Chaldeans at Babylon. We have now to vindicate our identification of the eclipse recorded by Herodotus, to have closed the Lydian war with the Medes, in the reign of Alyattes. Led by the date of the capture of Nineveh, which we were enabled to fix principally by the aid of the Hebrew annals, and further led by the admissions of Herodotus (which our cross-examination of his evidence elicited), concerning the wars in which the Seythians from Cimmeria were long engaged in Asia, we were able confidently to affirm what the chronologers, Clinton and Hales believed, that the eclipse, which terminated Alyattes's war with the Medes, was the one, which, by astronomical calculation, happened in the forenoon of the 18th of May, B.C. 603, by the Roman calendar, in which the twenty-four hours begin at midnight, or on the 17th of May if with astronomers we divide the rotation of the earth at mid-day.

It is quite incorrect, if I mistake not, to suppose that the solution of the controversy as to the date of this eclipse is an *astronomical question*. It is, indeed, for astronomers, not only to foretell, but to recall eclipses, or by aid of certain facts recorded of a particular past eclipse, to find other facts which have not been recorded of it. Certain *chronological* and *geographical* limits they must borrow or assume for granted; and evidence is gladly gathered as to the *size* of the past eclipse at the place where it is recorded to have been observed, in

order to solve the problem, "with *which* of the past eclipses, on their list, it is identical;" and, consequently, what was its exact *date* and duration; or, to find approximately (if this is not recorded) the *geographical position* of the observers. For the eclipse, which, according to Xenophon, enabled the defenders of Larissa to abandon the place unobserved, a *date* is given by the historian, namely the time "when the Persians were depriving the Medes of their supremacy," which time, according to Herodotus, was somewhere about B.C. 558. The *place*, where, under cover of the eclipse, the garrison then escaped, is also indisputably Nimrúd, about eighteen miles south of the modern city Mosul. The *degree of darkness* is related to have been great; for it is said that the intervening body by which the sun was obscured, "caused the city to disappear" from the besiegers. The whole solar disk, in fact, is asserted to have been covered by a "cloud"; therefore if the intervening object was really the *moon*, the eclipse must have been *total*. Taking these recorded circumstances for facts, astronomers authorize Mr. Bosanquet to assert, and we must as reasonable persons believe, that the eclipse is one which happened in May B.C. 557.

The materials, however, for finding the particular past eclipse of the sun, which, according to Herodotus, stopped the battle and led to peace between the Lydians and the Medes, are much less precise. For ourselves, indeed, we affirm, that, by a long train of chronological argument, we have found the year B.C. 603 to be the date of the campaign which the eclipse interrupted, and we only ask astronomers to tell us the month, the day, and the hour when the eclipse in that year was seen. Herodotus does not tell us where the battle-field lay, and calculators have been left to assume, that it was somewhere on a line due east of Sardis towards Media, or, rather, a line running from Sardis south-eastward. Perhaps, indeed, it may have been as far south as Karkhemish on the Euphrates. As to the degree of darkness, the only indication of the size of the eclipse, those who assume it to have been total, assume, I think, too much. The armies (as I take it) were not afraid of "*the dark*;" but of the diminution which they saw befall a luminary which most of them, certainly the Phrygians, the Magians, and even the Aryan Medes, worshipped as divine.

If it was the darkness which produced the effect upon the armies which is matter of history, it might properly be remarked, that the almost total eclipse of the sun, which was witnessed in England on the 15th of March, A.D. 1858, produced no such darkness as could possibly have much shaken the nerves of two great hosts of men. It might *then* be inferred, that the eclipse in question must have been total in the place where the battle was begun; for an eye-witness, writing of a total eclipse observed in Norway in 1833, is quoted thus: "As long

as the least bit of the solar disk was visible there was a diminution of the light, though not absolute darkness ; but the moment the disk was completely covered by the moon, darkness was as suddenly produced as when, in a room, the last candle out of several is put out."

But if the gloom of a total eclipse might interrupt a battle, we think the memory of it would not suffice as a ground for concluding a permanent peace. Besides, if the difference of darkness be great between that of the total eclipse in 1833, in Norway, and that produced in England in 1858, which he who writes this (judging from what he saw the while at Dinan, in Brittany), thinks must have been far less portentous than the filthy blackness of a sudden thick fog in London, such as fell on that city, for an hour or more, in the early afternoon of the 17th of last January (1860) ;—on the other hand, his own experience enables him to affirm, that there is also a vast difference in a spectator's impressions between that which was received from the eclipse of 1858, in the faint sunshine and clouded sky of England or Brittany, and that which a large solar eclipse, beheld from a low latitude, in the cloudless, blazing sky of summer, will naturally produce upon a heathen multitude. We are convinced of the great difference when, with our recent recollection, we compare our remembrance of an eclipse in A.D. 1844 or 1845, at Jooriah Bunder, in Kattyawar, of Western India, a place nearly on the northern tropic.

As translated by Geo. Rawlinson, Herodotus says :—"As the battle was growing warm, day was on a sudden changed into night." He mentions no terror, but adds simply this :—"The Medes and Lydians, when they observed the change, were alike anxious to have terms of peace agreed on." In another place, referring to the same eclipse, he calls it "the occasion when the day was changed suddenly into night." It is likely, that this part of the story had lost nothing by being frequently repeated,—if it was not altogether derived from newer instances of the sun's eclipse, before it reached the time in which Herodotus lived. But the great darkness, we insist, is not necessarily indicated by the sequel, which did not admit of exaggeration. Remembering how the inhabitants of Jooriah Bunder were poured out of the town, and filled the distance between our tent and the walls, with the din of the religious proceedings in a neighbouring temple, as the sunshine became moon-like pale, we would rather say, that the sun having been blazing bright and hot in a clear sky, a superstitious horror seized the worshippers of this lord of day in both armies, when, lifting their eyes from the battle, they beheld his disk eaten into and almost devoured by the black object which the body of the moon appeared.

We have said, that when an astronomer is required to identify an eclipse which the history of ancient times records, certain chronological boundaries must limit his selection ; and in the present case, for our own part, we would limit him to the space of the single year B.C. 603. But, the chronology of this part of ancient history having been considered obscure, a wider field of choice has been supposed to be necessary, being the fifty years from B.C. 630 to B.C. 580 ; and during this space we are told, that only three eclipses were total in that part of the world to which the history of Cyaxares, son of Phraortes the Mede, and Alyattes, son of Sadyattes the Lydian, belongs ; namely, the eclipses of B.C. September 610, May, 603, and May, 585. Each of those eclipses has been pitched upon by older or more recent astronomers as the one which led to peace between the Lydians and the Medes. Historians, therefore, and chronologers have usually made their option between the eclipse of B.C. 610, (which Mr. Grote and other recent writers prefer,) and that of B.C. 603, which Hales and Clinton select, and which we ourselves have found to suit unsought. But Mr. Bosanquet, and others, now contend for that of May, B.C. 585, which is affirmed to be the date received traditionally by Pliny, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Solinus ; while the ablest living astronomers give answer that the eclipse of that date is the only one which could have been *total* on the line between Lydia and Media ; and, moreover, is the only one which could have been foretold by an astronomer of that early time ; referring here to a tradition which Herodotus has transmitted from his own time, that Thales of Miletus had foretold the eclipse which led to peace between the Lydians and the Medes.

To the second of these three arguments we have already given an answer, which shows that the actual political result of the eclipse might have followed from a large partial, no less than from a total eclipse. To the first argument, derived from the authority of Pliny, of Clemens Alexandrinus, and of Solinus, we answer, that though we should admit, as, indeed, we are ready to admit, that their several dates do all really refer to the same eclipse of B.C. 585, still their tradition is not shown to be ancient nor independent. It is, in all probability, nothing more than a *conclusion*, founded on the tradition which existed among the Ionians in Herodotus's time, that their famous sage, Thales, had predicted the eclipse so memorable for having occasioned the termination of the great war. Now, this tradition may have been merely an easy misrepresentation of the fact, that the eclipse, so famous for the critical juncture at which it happened, and for its important consequences, *enabled* Thales afterwards to predict, on the old scene, another eclipse, optically, more remarkable, but of no political conse-

quence. In this conjecture we have found that Dr. Hincks has anticipated us, though we did not borrow the idea.

We have professed to answer but two of the three arguments by which it is proved that the eclipse that ended the war between the Lydians and the Medes, was the eclipse of May, B.C. 585. However, in reality, we have also given an answer to the other proof,—the one derived from the tradition of Thales's prediction, and from the fact (cited from Professor Airy,) that the evening eclipse of May 28, B.C. 585, presents a facility for prediction which the others do not; leading to the belief that, by aid of the *Saros*, (or Chaldean period of eighteen years, ten days, and eight hours nearly,) Thales might have predicted that particular evening eclipse from the observation of the morning eclipse of B.C. 603, May the 17th. Considerations referring to the age of Thales incline ourselves, as they probably inclined Pliny's authority to think, that if Thales predicted any solar eclipse, it was the one of B.C. 585. For if the philosopher was living to advise Croesus not earlier than Nabonedus's reign (or regency) at Babylon, which began in B.C. 555; (and this is implied by a story to which I attach no particular credence, but repeated, like that of the prediction of the eclipse, by Herodotus)—he certainly is less likely to have predicted the eclipse of B.C. 603, than that of B.C. 585. But the first, and the date of it, must have been well remembered in the days of Thales, and may have helped this Ionian philosopher, as Mr. Airy, and also Dr. Hincks point out,—to predict another eclipse in B.C. 585. This, when it occurred, was naturally supposed to exhibit exactly the same appearances which had been beheld by the Medes and Lydians in B.C. 603. The total darkness which accompanied the predicted eclipse was ascribed to its predecessor, and this one was also represented as having been foretold, instead of having *enabled Thales to foretell* the other. We have already given Herodotus's account of the eclipse which interrupted the fight between the Medes and the Lydians, omitting only (what, as translated by Geo. Rawlinson, we here conclude by subjoining) the words connecting the eclipse with Thales:—“This event had been foretold by Thales the Milesian, who forewarned the Ionians of it, fixing for it *the very year in which it actually took place.*” The prediction, then, was not very precise, if Herodotus has not feared to do it justice. According to the idea above cited of the method used, the calculation may be thus represented:—Olymp. xlv. i. (still current) + 18 years = Olymp. xlviii. 3 (*before its close*) = the Olympic year of the eclipse to come. Or, thus, E.N. 145 + 18 = E.N. 163, the year of fresh eclipse.

ART. IV.—*Comparative Translations*, by W. H. FOX TALBOT, Esq., F.R.S., The Reverend E. HINCKS, D.D., Dr. OPPERT, and Lieut.-Col. Sir HENRY C. RAWLINSON, K.C.B., of the *Inscription of Tiglath Pileser I.*

INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY THE PRESIDENT, PROFESSOR H. H. WILSON.

IN March, 1857, the Royal Asiatic Society received from Mr. Fox Talbot, in a sealed packet, a translation of a Cuneiform inscription on a cylinder, bearing the name of Tiglath Pileser; the first of the inscriptions lithographed under the superintendence of Sir Henry Rawlinson by authority of the Trustees of the British Museum under the sanction of the Government. The object of Mr. Talbot in sending his translation in this manner to the Society is best explained by the following note, with which the packet was accompanied:—

“Having been favoured with an early copy of the lithograph of this inscription by the liberality of the Trustees of the British Museum and of Sir H. Rawlinson, I have made from it the translation which I now offer to the Society. A few words will explain my object in doing so:—

“Many persons have hitherto refused to believe in the truth of the system by which Dr. Hincks and Sir H. Rawlinson have interpreted the Assyrian writings, because it contains many things entirely contrary to their preconceived opinions. For example, each Cuneiform group represents a syllable, but not always the same syllable; sometimes one, and sometimes another. To which it is replied, that such a licence would open the door to all manner of uncertainty; that the ancient Assyrians themselves, the natives of the country, could never have read such a kind of writing, and that, therefore, the system cannot be true, and the interpretations based upon it must be fallacious.

“Experience, however, shows that the uncertainty arising from this source is not so great as might easily be imagined. Many of the Cuneiform groups have only one value, and others have always the same value in the same word or phrase, so that the remaining difficulties and uncertainties of reading are reduced within moderate limits.

“Practically speaking, and considering the newness of the study,

there is a fair amount of agreement between different interpreters in their versions of the Assyrian historical writings of average difficulty.

"It is with the hope of showing that such agreement exists, that I have ventured to offer this translation to the Society.

"It is well known that Sir H. Rawlinson has announced his intention of publishing translations of these lithographs, and also transcriptions of the same into the ordinary European letters. Now, assuredly it will not add much to the authority of his translations if other scholars, after their publication, shall say that they are disposed to concur in them. Those who doubted before will continue to doubt afterwards, attributing the agreement less to independent conviction than to the great and deserved influence of Sir H. Rawlinson's authority.

"But it is evidently quite a different thing, when a translation has been prepared by another hand *before* the appearance of Sir H. Rawlinson's translation, and without any communication with him. All candid inquirers must acknowledge that if any special agreement should appear between such independent versions, it must indicate that they have Truth for their basis. Moreover, the inscription of Tiglath Pileser I. treats of very various matters, changing abruptly from one to the other; it abounds in proper names and statements of specific facts. It is, therefore, well suited for a comparison of this kind. I think it probable that there will be found a general resemblance between Sir H. Rawlinson's translation when published, and that which I have now the honour to offer. In proportion as this shall prove to be the case more or less completely, the argument which I wish to found upon it will be stronger or weaker; but, at all events, I hope it will be sufficient to prove that a true basis of interpretation has been established by Hincks and Rawlinson, upon which other investigators may confidently rely.

"I have annexed to my translation a transcription of the whole into Roman characters, with a nearly literal version¹ of each line, disposed in opposite columns. I am in hopes that this arrangement will prove of some use to the students of the Assyrian language.

"In conclusion, I have to request, for obvious reasons, that the packet containing this MS. translation may not be opened previously to the publication of the volume of lithographs of the British Museum.

"*Lacock Abbey,*

"H. FOX TALBOT.

"*March 17th, 1857.*"

¹ Many lines, however, of difficult construction, or uncertain meaning, have been left untranslated.

Upon the receipt of this communication it was resolved by the Council of the Society, upon the motion of Sir Henry Rawlinson, that measures should be taken to carry into effect the comparison suggested by Mr. Talbot. With this view it was determined to request Sir Henry Rawlinson, Dr. Hincks, and Dr. Oppert, who was in London, to favour the Society with translations of the same inscription, to be sent, in like manner, under a sealed cover, with a view to their being simultaneously opened and compared by a committee formed for the purpose of their examination. Application was made to those gentlemen accordingly, and the following were requested to examine and report upon the translations :—The Very Rev. the Dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Whewell, Sir Gardner Wilkinson, Mr. Grote, the Rev. W. Cureton, and Professor H. H. Wilson, who kindly consented to undertake the duty.

In addition to the translation of the entire inscription received from Mr. Talbot, exclusive of such passages as he considered obscure, the Society was favoured with one of similar extent by Sir Henry Rawlinson. A definite term having been fixed for the delivery of the translations, it was found insufficient to allow Dr. Hincks to make a complete version ; but he translated and sent to the Society a considerable portion, fully enough for the purpose of comparison. In like manner, Mr. Oppert had leisure to translate only a part of the inscription ; but this, as far as it went, answered the same object, although he made his version from a copy of the cylinder in his possession, instead of from the lithograph. Upon the receipt of these several versions the Committee was assembled, and in the presence of those members who were able to attend, the packets were opened and the translations perused. The following joint report of the proceedings of the members who attended, and separate reports of two others, were in consequence submitted to the Royal Asiatic Society, and they agree in bearing testimony to a very remarkable concurrence in the translations compared :—

“ May 29th, 1857.

“ The Undersigned, at the request of Colonel Rawlinson, consented (with Mr. Cureton and Professor H. H. Wilson, who were unavoidably absent) to open and examine certain sealed packets, containing translations from the Cuneiform inscriptions. Of these inscriptions several columns (printed from the originals in the British Museum, under the superintendence of Colonel Rawlinson) had been distributed to Colonel Rawlinson, Dr. Hincks, and to Mr. Fox Talbot. The object was to ascertain how far the versions of the same passages, made without mutual communication, either agreed with or differed from each other. The examiners were not called upon to pronounce

any judgment, and must be distinctly understood to pronounce no judgment whatever on the earlier processes of the discovery by which, it is asserted, that certain Cuneiform signs (though some retain a symbolic character) represent certain phonetic sounds and form certain words, in this case, of a Semitic language, closely resembling, though not absolutely the same with, the ancient Hebrew. The office of the examiners was strictly confined to the comparison of the several versions, and to the determination how far those versions agreed in their general sense, and in the specific meaning assigned to the words.

"The Undersigned compared with considerable care the versions, which were understood to be those of Colonel Rawlinson, Dr. Hincks, and Mr. Fox Talbot. They had greater difficulty with that of Dr. Oppert, whose translations not having the same continuity, could not so easily be brought into parallel with the others. It is to be regretted also that Dr. Oppert did not translate into French, in which language his version would have been more clear and precise, and might have been compared with equal facility.

"The three other versions were read passage by passage.

"Having gone through this comparison, the Examiners certify that the coincidences between the translations, both as to the general sense and verbal rendering, were very remarkable. In most parts there was a strong correspondence in the meaning assigned, and occasionally a curious identity of expression as to particular words. Where the versions differed very materially, each translator had, in many cases, marked the passage as one of doubtful or unascertained signification. In the interpretation of numbers there was throughout a singular correspondence.

"By all the translators the inscriptions were understood to relate to King Tiglath Pileser, to his campaigns, building and consecration of temples, and other royal acts; campaigns against nations bearing names mostly analagous to those known from the sacred writings, and from other ancient authorities; temples to deities with appellations bearing the same resemblance to those found in other quarters. There was a constant recurrence of these words, names, and titles, yet a sufficient variety of words to test, to a certain degree, the extent of the knowledge claimed by the translators of the sound of the words, and of the language to which the words are supposed to belong. It is right, perhaps, to add, that the closest coincidences was found between the versions of Colonel Rawlinson and Dr. Hincks, who are understood to have prosecuted the study for the longest time and with the greatest assiduity. Mr. Fox Talbot, who was later in the field, though, on the whole, mostly arriving at the same conclusions, was less positive and precise.

"While declaring this opinion on the facts submitted to their determination, the Undersigned leave it to the public in general, and especially to those who have studied the history and philosophy of language, to judge how far such facts confirm or illustrate the soundness and trustworthiness of the principles on which rest the reading and interpretation of the Cuneiform writings.

"W. H. MILMAN.

"GEO. GROTE."

"As one of the Committee invited to examine the four translations of the Assyrian Cuneiform inscription of Kalah Shergat, made by Sir Henry Rawlinson, the Rev. Dr. Hincks, Mr. Fox Talbot, and Dr. Oppert, and to decide whether they agree to such an extent as to justify the conclusion that the translations are not arbitrary, or indebted to chance for their resemblance, I have drawn up the following statement.

"The four translations had been made by them in different and distant places, without any communication with each other, and were presented to the Committee in sealed packets. Having been opened in the presence of the Committee, composed of the Dean of St. Paul's (who was in the chair), Mr. Grote, and myself (the Rev. Dr. Whewell being obliged to leave us before the examination, and Professor Wilson, and the Rev. Mr. Cureton not having been able to attend), those portions were read and compared by us, which we found to be contained in the four translations.

"Though none of them, except that of Sir Henry Rawlinson, contained the whole of that long inscription, there was more than sufficient in them all to enable us to judge of the resemblance of the parallel passages. These, indeed, were numerous in the translations by Sir Henry Rawlinson, Dr. Hincks, and Mr. Fox Talbot. Dr. Oppert's translation was very cleverly given in English; but it would, perhaps, have been more satisfactory if he had given it in French. He had not translated the whole, and he had the disadvantage of making it from a copy neither so complete nor so exact as that used by the English translators.

"My impression, from a comparison of the several passages in the different translations, is :—1st, that the resemblance (very often exactly the same, word for word) is so great as to render it unreasonable to suppose the interpretation could be arbitrary, or based on uncertain grounds.

"2nd. That the fact of certain passages which were doubtful (either from the imperfection of the inscription in those places, or

from the difficulty of ascertaining the meaning) being marked doubtful in the different translations, or left blank, accounts for some uncertainty or variation occurring in those parts.

"3rd. That some words, and names of persons, animals, objects, &c., being uncertain, could only be expected in any language not thoroughly known, especially in one where symbolic signs are often employed instead of the phonetic words; and the occasional differences in the mode of interpreting some words and sentences may be considered a guarantee of the fairness of the translators, especially when we find that the differences are uniform, the words or sentences so differing having the same meaning attached to them wherever they occur.

"4th. That the exact agreement of numbers in the different translations is highly satisfactory; though it is true that these are written in the original by signs, and not phonetically.

"5th. That the similarity in the several translations is quite equal to what it would be in the translation of an ordinary historical inscription written in Egyptian hieroglyphics made by the same number of persons who, as in this case, gave it quite independently of, and without any communication with, each other; and this comparison I am disposed to make, as it is the most analogous case that I can suggest.

"6th. With regard to the original discovery of the means employed for interpreting the Assyrian Cuneiform character, or the question of the language being a Semitic one, the Committee was not called upon to give any decision; all that it was required to do was to express their opinion respecting the agreement of the parallel passages in the four translations laid before them; and this agreement does appear to me to be satisfactory, and to be the result of a sound principle, and not of arbitrary hypothesis.

(Signed)

"J. GARDNER WILKINSON.

"33, York Street, Portman Square,

"May 25th, 1857."

"Of the four translations submitted, those of Mr. Fox Talbot and Sir Henry Rawlinson are entire; that of Dr. Hincks comprises twenty-eight of the fifty-four paragraphs into which the inscription may be divided, the copy in his possession having been received rather too late to allow of a more extended version. Dr. Oppert's contains twenty-one paragraphs, being translated from an imperfect copy, taken by himself, from a single cylinder, and that, apparently, defective. In both instances, however, although the translation of the whole has not been effected, yet there is quite enough to enable a conclusion to be

order to solve the problem, "with *which* of the past eclipses, on their list, it is identical;" and, consequently, what was its exact *date* and duration; or, to find approximately (if this is not recorded) the *geographical position* of the observers. For the eclipse, which, according to Xenophon, enabled the defenders of Larissa to abandon the place unobserved, a *date* is given by the historian, namely the time "when the Persians were depriving the Medes of their supremacy," which time, according to Herodotus, was somewhere about B.C. 558. The *place*, where, under cover of the eclipse, the garrison then escaped, is also indisputably Nimrúd, about eighteen miles south of the modern city Mosul. The *degree of darkness* is related to have been great; for it is said that the intervening body by which the sun was obscured, "caused the city to disappear" from the besiegers. The whole solar disk, in fact, is asserted to have been covered by a "cloud"; therefore if the intervening object was really the *moon*, the eclipse must have been *total*. Taking these recorded circumstances for facts, astronomers authorize Mr. Bosanquet to assert, and we must as reasonable persons believe, that the eclipse is one which happened in May B.C. 557.

The materials, however, for finding the particular past eclipse of the sun, which, according to Herodotus, stopped the battle and led to peace between the Lydians and the Medes, are much less precise. For ourselves, indeed, we affirm, that, by a long train of chronological argument, we have found the year B.C. 603 to be the date of the campaign which the eclipse interrupted, and we only ask astronomers to tell us the month, the day, and the hour when the eclipse in that year was seen. Herodotus does not tell us where the battle-field lay, and calculators have been left to assume, that it was somewhere on a line due east of Sardis towards Media, or, rather, a line running from Sardis south-eastward. Perhaps, indeed, it may have been as far south as Karkhemish on the Euphrates. As to the degree of darkness, the only indication of the size of the eclipse, those who assume it to have been total, assume, I think, too much. The armies (as I take it) were not afraid of "*the dark*;" but of the diminution which they saw befall a luminary which most of them, certainly the Phrygians, the Magians, and even the Aryan Medes, worshipped as divine.

If it was the darkness which produced the effect upon the armies which is matter of history, it might properly be remarked, that the almost total eclipse of the sun, which was witnessed in England on the 15th of March, A.D. 1858, produced no such darkness as could possibly have much shaken the nerves of two great hosts of men. It might *then* be inferred, that the eclipse in question must have been total in the place where the battle was begun; for an eye-witness, writing of a total eclipse observed in Norway in 1833, is quoted thus: "As long

different with respect to the words of the language. The almost invariable concurrence of the translators in the general sense of the several paragraphs, shows that they are agreed to give the same interpretation to a very considerable portion—if not the larger portion—of the vocabulary. At the same time the differences prove that much remains to be effected before the sense of every term can be confidently rendered. Where so much, however, has been accomplished, under such extraordinary difficulties, there is every reason to hope that the uncertainties which remain will be ultimately overcome.

The following offers a more detailed specification of agreements and differences.

RAWLINSON and TALBOT.

Par. I. Many coincidences, but many variations.

II. Same at the beginning; but T. observes that the passage is obscure, and omits the greater part.

III. Same: transliteration of various words—*lisanam* (R. *la shanam*)—shows the similarity of principle. T. leaves the greater portion untranslated.

IV. Considerable coincidence; that of the number sixty curious.

V. Coincidence as much almost as could be expected between any two translators.

VI. Coincidence considerable, ditto variations.

VII. Ditto, ditto.

VIII. Some coincidence, but great variation. Curious different reading of the city or country *Miltis*, R., and *Eshtish*, T.

IX. Partly the same: "subjugator of the rebellious," R.; "conqueror of unbelievers," T.

X. Tolerably coincident.

XI. Ditto.

XII. Same as IX.

XIII. Many agreements and disagreements: "25," T.; "27," R. The names *Aya*, &c. (except *Tarsu*, T.; *Shetzu*, R.), are all alike.

XIV. Much the same: short.

XV. Ditto, ditto.

XVI. Ditto.

XVII. Sense generally of fair coincidence. The name of a deity curiously varied. *Yem*, T.; *Vul*, R.

- XVIII. Names of cities very like. "Women," T.; "moveables," R. Numbers "4000" and "25" alike. "I burnt, destroyed, and overthrew."—T. R.
- XIX. Some variety; but the general purport much the same.
- XX. Short: same.
- XXI. Long paragraph, with many names, and some numbers. The names are little varied; the numbers agree, and the general purport is the same. See list of names in pages 161 and 162.
- XXII. Short; very much the same.
- XXIII. Ditto.
- XXIV. Omitted by T.
- XXV. Much the same; some differences.
- XXVI. Agreeing nearly.
- XXVII. "Kharutsa," R.; "Haroëris," T. The "Muxri" of R. is the "Egypt" of T. "Ayatsa," R.; "Esau?" T.; else much the same. (Very near.)
- XXVIII. Much the same. 20,000, R., omitted by T.
- XXIX. Much the same, and the circumstances of the inscription and temple remarkable.
- XXX. Ditto.
- XXXI. Not quite so near, although generally to the same purport. R. says nothing of "registering."
- XXXII. Quite different. R. observes it is a very difficult paragraph.
- XXXIII. Not so like as might be expected from its brevity.
- XXXIV. Tolerably near. T. leaves "amsi" untranslated; but talks of "their skins." R. makes it "wild bulls."
- XXXV. Ditto.
- XXXVI. The first part agrees. T. omits the latter part. Numbers agree.
- XXXVII. There is a general agreement as to the repairing of temples and securing of animals; but the words differ considerably.
- XXXVIII. Some agreement; some differences.
- XXXIX. Omitted by T.

- XL. The burthen much the same.
- XLI. to XLIV. Genealogy of Tiglath Pileser,—
- T. Son of Ashur-Resh-Ilim.
 Grandson of Munitsi Nebo ?
 Great grandson of Ashur-dabalan.
 Great great grandson Ninev-bal-ushat.
- R. Son of Ashur-ris-ili.
 Grandson of Mutaggil-Nabu.
 Great grandson of Ashur-dapur-Il.
 Great great grandson of Barzan-pala-kura.
- XLV. Very near coincidence, both in fact and phrase ; some difference in the names.
- XLVI. First part very near ; the latter varies considerably.
- XLVII. Much the same.
- XLVIII. Ditto.
- XLIX. Both agree as to the purport, soliciting the favour of *Anu* and *Yem* (*Vul*) in reward of the building of the temple ; many words vary.
- L. Very near.
- LI. First part very near ; last phrase differs.
- LII. Very near.
- LIII. Much alike, but much different.
- LIV. Date nearly the same.

HINCKS.

Begins with Col. I., Line 62, Para. V.

- V., VI., VII. The subject and most of the expressions the same ; some varieties (a few) as, for
- | | | |
|----------------------------------|----|----|
| Moveables, wealth, valuables . . | .. | R. |
| Women, &c. | .. | T. |
| Women, slaves, cattle . . | .. | H. |
| Captives, herds, treasures . . | .. | O. |
- For Musk, Muskayans (same). Comukha, R. ; Qum-mukh, H. Iv for Vul.
- XXVI. Title of Tiglath Pileser essentially the same.
- XXVII. Subject same ; names differ a little. Muzri, R. ; Muçur, H. Comani, R. ; Quwanu, H.

XXVIII. Much the same.

XXIX. Ditto, with some variations; *pillar* for *tablets*. R. has not the prohibition to repair the city.

XXX. Ditto, with some great variations. The 300 fugitive heretics, R., are 300 fugitive female slaves, H.

XXXI. Same, as nearly as possible.

XXXII. Totally different. Talbot's is more to the same effect, for the enforcement of withheld tribute. R. has in view the following up of the chase; influenced, perhaps, by what follows.

XXXIII. The two first titles of Tiglath Pileser agree; the third varies.

XXXIV. Much the same. The divinities he names Ninib and Sidu; T., Ninev and Sidu; R., Hercules and Nergal (translating them).

XXXV. Near; but he makes the animals elephants. The numbers rather differ. R. has ten buffaloes killed, and four taken; H. has four elephants killed, and four taken. (But the killing and taking agree.)

XXXVI. Fair agreement.

XXXVII. The purport the same, although the details differ.

XLV. Fair agreement; some words different. The gods *Anu* and *Iv*, H.; *Anu* and *Vul*, R.; Champion, H.; High Priest, R.

XLVI. Purport alike; expressions sometimes vary. The paragraph from R., T., H., a good specimen of general agreement, and particular differences.

XLVII. Much alike.

XLVIII. Purport same; particulars vary.

XLIX. Ditto, ditto.

L. Tolerably close agreement.

LI. Ditto, with some exceptions. Floors, H.; cylinders, R.

LII. Although the purport in the main is the same, yet H. includes, as imprecations, what R. renders different modes of defacing the tablets. H. is probably wrong. T. and O. agree with R. in the main.

LIII. Very near. R. is more consistent.

LIV. Colophon, same.

OPPERT.

- I. Very much the same.
- II. Same in general. Some expressions not in the other, and some considerable variety of rendering, although the main purport is the same.
- III. As much alike as could be expected ; but O.'s translation is limited to the first three or four lines.
- IV. Some agreement ;—some curious (if tenable ?) varieties ; for "warlike servants," (R.)—"fore-part of ships," (O.) Purport the same, but the particulars different ; the number 60 not noticed.
- V. Beginning only translated ; agrees with R.
- VI. Ditto. Ditto ; but O. calls the country Dummukh.
- XVIII. Names of places much the same. Khimi, R. ; Himi, O. Lukhi, R. ; Lukhi, O. Arirgi, R. ; Arirgi, O. Alamun, R. ; Alumun, O. Nuni, R. ; Nimni, O. Capture of 25 of the enemy's gods, R. O. Purport of the rest the same, but apparently abridged.
- XIX. Something alike.
- XX. Sufficiently alike.
- XXI. A little too Oriental—"the marshes of illness," and "plains of fever," ?) We have, however, 16 proper names of countries traversed, and 23 of countries whose kings were subdued ; most of them are read alike.

R.	T.	O.
Elama.	Elama.	Elama.
Amadana.	Amadan.	Amadana.
Eltis.	Ilkish.	Ilkhis.
Sherabili.	Sharabili.	Shirabili.
Likhuna.	Tarkhuna.	Tarhuna.
Tirkakhuli.	Tarkakuli.	Tirkakhuli.
Kisra.	Kisra.	Kisra.
Likhanubi.	Tarkanabi.	Nukhanabat.
Elula.	Elula.	Elula.
Khas tare.	Kashtarai.	Khashtaraë.
Sakhisara.	Shakishara.	Shakhishara.
Hubira.	Hupitra.	Uhurra.

R.	T.	O.
Miliatruni.	Miliatruni.	Miliatruni.
Sulianzi (?).	Sulianzi.	Shulianzi.
Nubanáshe.	Nubanasha.	Nubanashi.
Sheshe.	Tarsha.	Shysy.
<hr/>		
Elammi.	Numi.	Elammi.
Tunubi.	Tunubi.	Tunumit.
Tuhali.	Tuali.	Tuáli.
Kindari.	Kindari (?).	Kindari.
Huzula.	Hutzula.	Ubatu.
Vanzamuni.	Unzamuni.	Unsamuni.
Andiabi.	Andiabi.	Andiabat.
Pilakinna.	Pilakinni.	Pilakinni.
Atúrgina.	Athurgini.	Aturgini.
Kulibartzini.	Kulibarzini.	Kulimazzini.
Pinibirni.	Pinibirni.	Sinibirni.
Khimua.	Khimia.	Khimua.
Päiteri.	Paitiri.	Paītiri.
Váfram.	Huiram.	Uiram.
Sururia.	Sururia.	Shururia.
Abäéui.	Abaeni.	Abaīni.
Adäéni.	Adaeni.	Adaīni.
Kirini.	Kirini.	Kirini.
Albaya.	Albaya.	Kabaya.
Vagina.	Hugina.	Ugini.
Nazabia.	Nazabia.	Nazabia.
Amalsiú.	Arbarsiuni.	Abarsuni.
Dayeni.	Dayaeni.	Dayaīni.

Thirty-nine names, most of which are spelled exactly the same; the others scarcely differ. There are not above three, or perhaps only two, that may be considered different. The rest of the paragraph agrees as to purport; some of the terms differ.

XL. Short paragraph. All but the last clause agree. (? O.'s "adoring the star, Tarkhi.")

XLI to XLIV. The genealogy generally agrees; some of the names differ.

XLVI. On the repairing of the temples there is a general agreement. O. agrees with H. in making the 50, *cylinders*; not *feet deep*.

XLVII. Much the same ; but the persons are made kings as by H., not high priests as by R.

XLVIII. O. puts in the names of the stones ; the general sense is the same.

XLIX. Purport the same ; variations many.

LIII. The imprecation, with a few exceptions, very much the same with R. and T. The beginning differs entirely from Hincks.

H. H. W.

[In order to enable investigators to appreciate the justice of these reports, and to satisfy themselves of the extent of the agreement and disagreement of the several translations, the Society thought it advisable to publish at once the several versions, arranging them in parallel columns, where they represent the same passages of the original. As observed above, the parallel holds throughout only in the versions of Mr. Talbot and Sir Henry Rawlinson ; the analogous passages, as rendered by Dr. Hincks and Dr. Oppert, occur occasionally, and are inserted as they occur.

The translations of Sir Henry Rawlinson, Dr. Hincks, and Mr. Fox Talbot, were accompanied by transcriptions in Roman letters ; and notes either accompanying them, or subsequently supplied, were added, explanatory of the reasons for rendering certain passages in the manner adopted ; but it was judged advisable to omit them, leaving the translations separately, in the exact form in which they were received ; although there could be no doubt that several of the seeming differences might be explained satisfactorily, and that an opportunity for reconsideration might have modified the translation of particular passages. This, however, would have been foreign to the object for which the comparison was instituted—the reading and interpretation of the text by the different scholars who had studied the subject without any communication whatever.

All the documents are now embodied in the Journal of the Society, just as they were originally printed, some clerical errors only being corrected.]

I. (i. 1). THE BEGINNING.

Rawlinson.

Ashur, the great lord, ruling supreme over the Gods; the giver of sceptres and crowns (?); the appointer of sovereignty. *Bel*, the lord; king of the circle of the Constellations (?); father of the Gods; lord of the world. *Sin* (the moon); the leader (?); the lord of empire (?); the powerful (?); the auspicious (?) God; *Shamas* (the sun); the establisher of the heavens and the earth;; the vanquisher of enemies; the dissolver of cold. *Vul* (?); he who causes the tempest to rage over hostile lands and wicked (?) countries. *Abnil* (?) (Hercules); the champion who subdues heretics (?) and enemies, and who strengthens the heart. *Ishtar*, the eldest (or source) of the Gods; the Queen of victory (?); she who arranges battles.

Talbot.

Ashur, the Lord of greatness: King of the race of gods: giver of the sceptre the crown: establisher of rule. *Bel*, the lord, king of men. *naki*, father of the gods ... the god named "lord of nations" *irsu*, lord of the crown. The *Sun*, ruler of Heaven and earth, The *Terrible* (?)—thundering over foreign lands and the nations are heretical. *Ninev*, the one who satiates his wrath upon enemies. The *Moon*, eldest sister of the gods: queen of Heaven and disposer of the event of &c. These are the great guardians of the kingdom of Heaven and Earth, who are supporters of my kingdom

II. (i. 15).

The great Gods, ruling over the heavens and the earth, whose attributes I have recorded and whom I have named (?); the guardians of the kingdom of Tiglath Pileser, the Prince inspiring your hearts with joy (?); the proud Chief

Tiglath-Pileser, the King who greatly

I. 4. 1. THE BEGINNING

[1905]

God Anu, great lord, king of
the regions of gods, who makes
justice and harmony, who makes all
prosperity. God Enlil, great lord,
king of the universe, god of the
world, lord of gods, divine lord
of the gods. God Sin, the ruler,
lord of mankind, he who is the god
of firmness. Sin, the judge of
heaven and earth, who takes care
of the approaching of enemies.

.....
God An, the guardian, who inna-
dates the districts of the rebels,
mountains and dunes. God Ninur,
Sam-han, the strong, who destroys
haters and enemies, who excites
to quarrel the courage of heart.
Goddess Ishtar, queen of victory,
who enflames to battles.

II. (i. 15).

Gods, who rule over heaven
and earth, who made the depth
and the height, and who enlarge
the royalty of Tiglat-pileser, the
lord; in the love of your heart
place him, O majestic beings!
You have elected him in the eter-

Rawlinson.

whom in the strength of your hearts ye have made firm, (to whom) ye have confided the supreme crown, (whom) ye have appointed in might to the sovereignty of the country of Bel, to whom ye have granted pre-eminence, exaltation, and warlike power. May the duration of his empire continue for ever to his royal posterity, lasting as the great temple of Bel !

Talbot.

the city of Belus erected these monuments of his reign and of his actions both towards his people and his enemies, in the temple of Kharrish-Sasara (may it last for ever !)

III. (i. 28).

Tiglath-Pileser, the powerful king ; supreme king of Lashanan ; king of the four regions ; king of all kings ; lord of lords ; the supreme (?) ; monarch of monarchs ; the illustrious chief who under the auspices of the Sun God, being armed with the sceptre and girt with the girdle of power over mankind, rules over all the people of Bel ; the mighty prince whose praise is blazoned forth among the kings ; the exalted sovereign, whose servants Ashur has appointed to the government of the country of the four regions (and) has made his name celebrated to posterity ; the conqueror of many plains and mountains of the Upper and the Lower country ; the conquering hero, the terror of whose name has overwhelmed all regions ; the bright constellation who, according to his power (or "as he wished") has warred against foreign countries, (and) under the

Tiglath-Pileser, the great King, king of the people of various tongues : king of all the lands watered by the Euphrates : king of all kings : lord of lords who in the name of the Sun, who is lord of the splendid sceptre..
.....

Oppert.

nity of your heart, you have conferred upon him the highest honour, you have destined him to the royalty of the land; you have united in him primogeniture, majesty, and piety. May the obedience to his dominion be recollected in eternity, on the multiplication and the offspring of his strength for the glory of the land of Mesopotamia!

III. (i. 28).

Tiglat-pileser, the mighty king, king of legions of peoples, king of the four countries, king commanding princes, lord of lords, arbitrator, king of kings, the venerable, the majestic.....

*Rawlinson.**Talbot.*

auspices of Bel—there being no equal to him—has subdued the enemies of Ashur (or has made them obedient to Ashur).

IV. (i. 46).

Ashur (and) the great Gods, the guardians of my kingdom, who gave government and laws to my dominions, and ordered an enlarged frontier to their territory, having committed to (my) hand their valiant and warlike servants, I have subdued the lands and the peoples and the strong places, and the kings who were hostile to Ashur; and I have reduced all that was contained in them. With a host (literally "a sixty") of kings I have fought and have imposed on them the bond of servitude (?). There is not to me a second in war, nor an equal in battle. I have added territory to Assyria and peoples to her people. I have enlarged the frontier of my territories, and subdued all the lands contained in them.

Ashur and the great gods, the upholders of my royal power, whoand strength unto my laws have given: the religious service which they have commanded me (*I have performed for them?*). I have grasped in battle their mighty weapons in my hand.—The nations, the cities, the temples, and the kings who were enemies of Ashur, I have subdued, and I have them. With 60 kings victoriously I fought, and the laws and religion of my empire I imposed upon them: in wars and battles so numerous that men kept not an account of them. I brought unto Assyria the chief men of those nations: I imposed upon them allegiance to my empire, and I subjugated the people of their countries.¹

V. (i. 62).

In the beginning of my reign 20,000 of the Muskayans and their 5 kings, who for 50 years had held the countries of Alza and Purukhuz, without paying

In the beginning of my reign 20,000 men of the city of Sirki, and their five kings, who for fifty years in the cities of Alzi and Burulizinash had taken the tribute

¹ This is the conclusion of what may be called the preamble. The rest of the inscription is written in a simpler style.

*Hincks.**Oppert.*

IV. (i. 46).

God Asur, and the great gods, increasing my royalty, granted to me multiplication and power to my conquests. They spoke to me their language (that is) extensive domination of the forepart of my ships. I killed the people of annihilation, and the lands of assailants and of kings hostile to Assyria I annexed. Their calamities I sharpened by piercing their ditches, and crushing their kings. I took from them the splendour of their domination. I sustained without relaxation the fervour of the fight, and the depredation of battle. I distributed the country among the lands of Assyria, the men among her men. I extended the boundaries of my land, I annexed the totality of their territories.

V. (i. 62).

At the beginning of my reign, 20,000 of the Muskians and their five kings, who for fifty years had occupied the land of Alji and Peruluji, taking by violence the

In the commencement of my reign, I took 20,000 men of the land of the Moschi, and their five kings, who reigned over the fifty tribes of Alzi and Burupai, god

Rawlinson.

tribute and offerings to Ashur my lord, and whom a king of Assyria had never ventured to meet in battle (literally, "a king of mine never in battle before them had gone" (?)), betook themselves to their strength (*i. e.* took arms) and went and seized the country of Comukha. In the service of Ashur my lord, my chariots and warriors I assembled after me (?). The country of Kasiyara, a difficult region, I passed through. With their 20,000 fighting men and their 5 kings in the country of Comukha I engaged. I defeated them. The ranks of their warriors in fighting the battle were beaten down as if by the tempest. Their carcases covered the valleys and the tops of the mountains. I cut off their heads. The battlements of their cities I made heaps of, like mounds of earth (?). Their moveables, their wealth, and their valuables I plundered to a countless amount. 6000 of their common soldiers who fled before my servants and accepted my yoke, I took them, and gave them over to the men of my own territory (as slaves).

Talbot.

and revenues of Ashur, my lord, and had slain the late king in battle.....

They trusted to their great forces and came, and entered the land of Kummikhi. In the holy arms of Ashur, my lord, I *assembled* (?) my chiefs and my army. I destroyed the city of Kasiyarah, seated on a lofty eminence, and fought with the 20,000 soldiers and their five kings in the land of Kummikhi, and I conquered them. The primest of their soldiers like I destroyed. Their chiefs I flung down the ravines and precipices of the mountain. Their heads I cut off. The of their cities like I Their women and their and their abundantly I carried off. 6000 of the best of their soldiers, who had fled before my arms, but afterwards submitted to my authority, I carried them off as captives, and unto the men of my land I distributed them as a spoil.

VI. (i. 89).

Then I went on to the country of Comukha, which was disobedient and withheld the tribute and offerings due to Ashur my lord; I conquered the whole

I then advanced against Kummikhi, a land of the unbelievers who had refused to pay taxes and tribute unto Ashur, my lord. The land of Kummikhi throughout all

Hincks.

tribute by weight and tale, which belonged to Assur, my lord; while no king had ever dared to meet them in the battle-field. They confided in their strength, came down, and seized the land of Qummukh. With the aid of Assur, my lord, I arranged behind me my chariots and my armies. I made no delay; but I crossed over Mount Kasiyara by a difficult road. I fought in Qummukh with their 20,000 heavy-armed troops and their five kings. I defeated them; and *following them with my archers, I cut off the very last of them.* I poured out their blood on the *high places* and the *dry places* of the hills; I collected their heads and piled them, *like walls, on the projecting parts* of their towns. I brought out their women, their *slaves*, and their cattle in numbers not to be counted. 6000 men, the remains of their army, who escaped from my arrows, took upon them my yoke. I accepted them, and counted them as men of my country.

Oppert.

Asur, my lord, granted me their tributes and gifts.

VI. (i. 89).

At that time I went to a disaffected part of Qummukh, which had withheld the tribute by weight and tale belonging to Assur, my lord. I subdued the land of

In these days I went to the people of Dummukh, the enemy who owed tributes and gifts to the god Asur, my lord. I subdued the people of Dummukh, for

Rawlinson.

country of Comukha. I plundered their moveables, their wealth, and their valuables. Their cities I burnt with fire, I destroyed and ruined. The common people of Comukha, who fled before the face of my servants, crossed over to the city of *Sherisha*, which was on the further bank of the Tigris, and made this city into their stronghold. I assembled my chariots and warriors. I betook myself to carts of iron in order to overcome the rough mountains and their difficult marches; I made the wilderness (thus) practicable for the passage of my chariots and warriors; I crossed the Tigris and took the city of *Sherisha* their stronghold. Their fighting men in the middle of the forests, like wild beasts, I smote (?). Their carcases filled the Tigris, and the tops of the mountains. At this time the troops of the *Akhe*, who came to the deliverance and assistance of Comukha, together with the troops of Comukha, like chaff (?) I scattered (?). The carcases of their fighting men I piled up in heaps on the tops of the mountains. The bodies of their warriors, the roaring (?) waters carried down to the Tigris. *Kili-Teru*, son of *Kaü Teru*, son of *Zarupin-Zihusun*, their king, in the course of their fighting fell into my power. His wives and his children, the delight of his heart, I dispossessed him of (?). 180 (literally "three sixties")

Talbot.

its extent I ravaged. Their women, &c., I carried off. Their cities I burned with fire, destroyed and overthrew. The chief people of Kummikhi, who fled before my arms, crossed over unto the city of *Sharisha*, in the province of the right bank (or west) of the Tigris. And they fortified that city. I assembled my chiefs and my army in order to attack (?) their stronghold and their lofty position. With all manner of which I, I constructed a bridge (?) for the advance of my chariots and army. I crossed the river Tigris. I took the city of *Sharisha*, their stronghold. Their heavy armed soldiers within the towns like I put to death (?). Their chiefs into the river Tigris and down the precipices of the mountain I hurled. And then the armies of the nations who were their allies, who had come for the rescue and succour of the city of Kummikhi, together with the army of Kummikhi itself also, like I Every one (?) of their best soldiers in the heights of the mountain I destroyed (?). The primest of their army in the river Nami and in the Tigris I drowned (?).

Tirikili, son of Tirikali, their king, whom I had, during the midst of the battle I took him prisoner. His wives and his sons, and the rest of his family, and 180 *shinki* of treasure (?), and five of bronze, together

Hincks.

Qummukh as far as it extended. I brought out their women, their *slaves*, and their cattle; their towns I burned with fire, threw down, and dug up. The remainder of the people of Qummukh who escaped from my arrows, crossed over to Siris, on the further bank of the Tigris. They took that city for their capital. I then took my chariots and my forces. Hills difficult to be traversed and their deep sunk valleys they levelled with shovels of wood; what was unfit for the passage of my chariots and armies I made good. I then crossed the Tigris. I took the city of Siris, their capital. I caught their heavy-armed troops within a forest, as in a *trap*; I poured out their blood on the *numerous dry places* and *high places* of the hills as a river. On that day I caused the armies of the land of the Aliens, which came for the deliverance and protection of Qummukh, to occupy *a somewhat like a dwelling-place* along with the armies of Qummukh. The last of their heavy-armed troops I threshed on the threshing-floors in a valley among the hills; as the conclusion of their brave career, I sent forth a river of blood to the Tigris. I took captive in the field of battle Kiliantiru, *eldest son* of Carupineiyusun, their king. His wives, the children his own progeny, his treasures, 180 *loads* of wood, five *nirmaks* of copper, with their gods

Oppert.

its punishment (?) I took away their captives, their herds, and their treasures; their cities I burnt in fire; I destroyed, I undermined them.

Rawlinson.

iron vessels and 5 trays of copper, together with the Gods of the people in gold and silver, and their beds and furniture (?) I brought away. Their moveables and their wealth I plundered. This city and its palace I burnt with fire, I destroyed and ruined.

Talbot.

with their gods, and their gold and silver wealth, I took for plunder. Their women and their I carried off. That city and its palace in flames I burnt, and destroyed and overthrew.

VII. (ii. 36).

The city of *Urrakhinas*, their stronghold, which was in the country of Panari, I went towards. The exceeding fear of the power of Ashur, my lord, overwhelmed them. To save their lives they took their Gods, and fled like birds to the tops of the lofty mountains; I collected my chariots and warriors, and crossed the Tigris. *Shedi-Teru*, the son of *Khasutukh*, king of *Urrakhinas*, on my arriving in his country submitted to my yoke. His sons, the delight of his heart, and his favourites (?) I condemned to the service of the Gods (?); 60 vessels of iron; trays and bars of copper (?); with 120 cattle, and flocks, he brought as tribute and offerings. I accepted (them) and spared him. I gave him his life, but imposed upon him the yoke of my empire heavily for ever. The wide-spreading country of *Comukha* I entirely conquered, and subjected to my yoke. At this time one tray of copper and

The people of the strong city of *Urrakinash*, which is in Panari province, the worship, rites, and religion of Ashur, my lord, had quite swept away. For the salvation of their lives they took their gods along with them, and unto the lofty summit of a mountain like they fled. My chariots and my army I assembled, and the river Tigris I crossed. *Tiridates*, son of *Kuttukin*, king of the city of *Urrakinash*, in order that I should not destroy his city, submitted to my authority. His sons and his family for hostages I seized; 60 *shinki* of treasure, and and of bronze; together with 120 oxen and sheep, as tribute and offering he brought, and I received it. I pardoned him; I spared his life; but the yoke of my empire heavily upon him for the future I imposed. The land of *Kummikhi* I ravaged in every quarter, and reduced it wholly under my dominion. Then one of bronze, and one of bronze, part of

Hincks.

of gold and of silver, and the *best* of their cattle I took away, and I brought forth their women and their *slaves*. This city and its palace I burned with fire, threw down and dug up.

VII. (ii. 36).

As for the people of Urrakhinas, their capital city, which was situated in Panar, immense fear of the *presence* of Assur, my lord, overwhelmed them ; and, in order to save their lives, they took away their gods, and fled, like birds, to a valley among *rugged* hills. I took my chariots and my armies, and crossed the Tigris. Sadiyan-tiru *tur khattukhi*, king of Urrakhinas, to prevent me going to that land, took on him my yoke. I took for hostages children, the offspring of himself and of his nobles. 60 *loads* of wood, a *nirmak* and a *namkhar* of pure copper, with 120 of the *young* of oxen and sheep, a tribute by weight and by tale, he paid and I received. I spared him. I let him have his life ; but I made the yoke of my dominion heavy upon him for the future. I subdued the extensive land of Qummukh to its limit. I subjected it to my yoke. At that time I set apart a *namkhar* of copper, and a *nirmak* of copper, of the *produce* and the tribute of

Rawlinson.

one bar of copper from among the service-offerings and tribute of Comukha I dedicated to Ashur my lord, and 60 iron vessels with their Gods I offered to my guardian God, Vul.

Talbot.

the spoil and tribute of the land of Kummikhi, I dedicated unto Ashur my lord, and 60 *shinki* of treasure, together with their gods, I dedicated unto Yem, my guardian deity.

VIII. (ii. 63). *Rawlinson.*

From amongst my valiant servants, to whom Ashur, the lord, gave strength and power, in thirty of my chariots, select companies of my troops, and bands of my warriors who were expert in battle (?), I gathered together. I proceeded to the extensive country of *Miltis* which did not obey me; it consisted of strong mountains and a difficult land. Where it was easy I traversed it in my chariots; where it was difficult I went on foot. In the country of Aruma, which was a difficult land, and impracticable to the passage of my chariots, I left the chariots and marched in front of my troops. Like on the peaks of the rugged mountains, I marched victoriously. The country of *Miltis*, like heaps of stubble, I swept. Their fighting men in the course of the battle like chaff I scattered. Their moveables, their wealth, and their valuables I plundered. Many of their cities I burned with fire. I imposed on them religious service, and offerings and tribute.

IX. (ii. 85).

Tiglath-Pileser, the illustrious warrior; the opener of the roads of the countries; the subjugator of the rebellious; he who has overrun the whole Magian world (?).

X. (ii. 89).

Rawlinson.

I subdued the extensive country of Subari, which was in rebellion. The countries of Alza and Puruk-huz, which deferred their tribute and offerings, the yoke of my empire heavily upon them I imposed,

Talbot.

The nation of the Subari, who were heretics and unbelievers, I reduced to subjection. The cities of Alzi and Burulizi, who had refused their tribute and their offerings, the yoke of my empire heavily

Hincks.

Qummukh for Assur, my lord.
60 loads of wood, with their gods,
I assigned to Iv, my guide.

VIII. (ii. 63). *Talbot.*

In the of my powerful arms, to which Ashur, the lord, gave strength: with thirty of my chiefs, and my soldiers who were skilled in (?) upon the sea, I assembled my forces. Against the people of the city of Eshtish, those heretics and unbelievers, I advanced. Unto cities fortified and seated on eminences I ascended with my martial array. In the land of Aruma, situated very high and mountainous, which, for the advance of chariots was inaccessible, I quitted my chariots, and I took the station of a warrior on foot, and like a nimble mountain goat (?) in the cliffs of the lofty mountains actively I climbed. The city of Eshtish, like a heap of stubble, I swept away. Their men-at-arms in the battle like I Their women, &c., I carried off. All their cities in flames I burnt. Hostages, tribute, and gifts upon them I imposed.

IX. (ii. 85).

Tiglath-Pileser, the mighty Hero, of the nations: conqueror of the unbelievers: sweeper away of wicked men.

X. (ii. 89).

Hincks.

When Assur my lord made my hand to hold the powerful arrow, which subjugates the disaffected, and ordered that the bounds of his possessions should be enlarged, 4000 Katskians and Urumians,

Rawlinson.

decreeing that they should bring their tribute and offerings into my presence in the city of Ashur. While I was on this expedition, which the lord Ashur, committing to my hand a powerful rebel-subduing army, ordered for the enlargement of the frontiers of his territory, there were 4000 of the *Kaskaya* and *Hurumáya*, rebellious tribes of the Khetti (Hittites), who had brought under their power the cities of Subarta, attached to the worship of Ashur, my lord, (so that) they did not acknowledge dependence on Subarta. The terror of my warlike expedition overwhelmed them. They would not fight, but submitted to my yoke. Then I took their valuables, and 120 (two soss) of their chariots fitted to the yoke, and I gave them to the men of my own country.

Talbot.

upon them I imposed, augmenting their taxes and their tribute. 4000 men of the cities of Kashki and Urumi, Syrian soldiers—unbelievers—who, trusting in their forces, had invaded the cities of the land of Suparta, which belong to Ashur, my lord. Those who had fled from battle, but afterwards submitted to my authority, their chief, and 120 noblemen, the best of their land, I carried off into captivity, and unto the men of my land I distributed them as a spoil.

XI. (iii. 7.)

In the course of this my expedition, a second time I proceeded to the country of Comukha. I took many of their cities. Their moveables, their wealth, and their valuables I plundered. Their cities I burnt with fire, I destroyed and overthrew. The soldiers of their armies, who from before the face of my valiant servants fled away, they would not engage with me in the fierce battle; to save their lives they took to

In my second heroic expedition I went once more against the land of Kummikhi. All their cities I took. Their women, &c., I carried off. Their cities in flames I burnt, destroyed and overthrew. The primest of their soldiers, who against my powerful arms had revolted, away from my vengeance in battle they fled, and to save their lives, to the princes of a mountainous region, situated on high, they went for refuge. Unto

Hincks.

and disaffected people of Khatti,
who on their strength relied,....
..... the people of the
towns of Subarat undertook *to do*
homage before Assur my lord.
Of my going to the land of Subarat
they heard. The presence of my
bravery prostrated them; they
shrunk from the close fight, and
took on them my yoke. With
their cattle and 120 chariots, *with*
harness for two. I received them,
and numbered them among my
slaves.

XI. (iii. 7).

Through *means* of my bravery,
and so forth, I went for the second
time to Qummukh. I took several
of their towns, and carried away
their women, their *slaves*, and their
cattle. Their towns I burned with
fire, threw down and dug up; and
the remainder of their armies
which feared before my strong
arrows, and shrunk from the
powerful shock of my close fight-
ing, in order to save their lives,
occupied the high summits of a

Rawlinson.

the strong heights of the mountains, an inaccessible region; to the recesses of the deep forests and the peaks of the difficult mountain, which had never been trodden by the foot of men, I ascended after them; they fought with me (literally, the service of war and battle with me they performed); I defeated them; the ranks of their warriors on the tops of the mountains fell like rain; their carcases filled the ravines and the high places of the mountains; their moveables, their wealth and their valuables I carried off (?) from the strong heights of the mountains. I subdued the country of Comukha throughout its whole extent, and I attached it to the frontiers of my own territory.

Talbot.

..... lofty cities, and to the craggy eminences of the mountain, which to the foot of man had not been made accessible, after them I climbed on high. Arms, war, and battle against me they made; but I defeated them. The host of their soldiers like I I flung their chiefs down the ravines and precipices of the mountain. Their women, &c., together with the princes of those mountain cities, I carried off. The land of Kummikhi throughout all its provinces I subdued, and brought it once more under subjection to my own land.

XII. (iii. 32). *Rawlinson.*

Tiglath-Pileser, the powerful king; the vanquisher of the disobedient; he who has swept the face of the earth (?).

XIII. (iii. 35).

Rawlinson.

In profound reverence to Ashur my lord, to the country of Kharia, and the far-spreading tribes of the Akhe, deep forests, which no former king (of Assyria) had ever reached, the lord Ashur invited me to proceed. My chariots and forces I assembled, and I went to an inaccessible region beyond the coun-

Talbot.

In the supreme name of Ashur, my lord, against the land of Kharia and the armies of the nations their allies (strong hill-fortresses, which the late king could not subdue) Ashur, my lord, gave me command to advance. My chiefs and my army I assembled in great force, and I took the cities of Itni

Hincks.

mountain of difficult access. I went after them to the *depths* of thick forests, and to deep sunk valleys, which were unfit to be trodden on. They encountered me both in the close and in the distant fight. I effected their overthrow. The last of their army in a valley Their blood I poured out on the *dry places* and the *high places* of the hill. Their women, their *slaves*, and their cattle, with the high summits of the mountain I brought down. I subdued the land of Qummukh to the extremity of its surface, and I added it to the bounds of my territory.

XII. (iii. 32). *Talbot.*

Tiglath-Pileser, the great King: destroyer of the unbelievers; sweeper away of the

XIII. (iii. 35).

Hincks.

By the *continued help* of Assur my lord, to the land of Kharia and its armies—strange lands of great extent, and crowded forests, through which no king had ever gone—Assur my lord commanded me to go. I set in order my chariots and armies; I took a different road between Mounts Idni

Rawlinson.

tries of Itni and Ayá. As the steep mountains stood up like metal posts, and were impracticable to the passage of my chariots, I placed my chariots in wag-gons, and (thus) I traversed the difficult ranges of hills. All the lands of the Akhe and their wide-spreading tribes having assembled, arose to do battle in the country of Azutapis (?). In an inaccessible region I fought with them and defeated them. The ranks of their (slain) warriors on the peaks of the mountains were piled up in heaps; the carcasses of their warriors filled the ravines and high places of the mountains. To the cities which were placed on the tops of the mountains I penetrated (?) victoriously: 27 cities of Kharia, which were situated in the districts of Aya, Suira, Itni, Shetzu, Shelgu, Arzanibru, Varutsu, and Anitku, I took; their moveables, their wealth, and their valuables I plundered; their cities I burnt with fire, I destroyed and overthrew.

Talbot.

and Aya, situated on eminences: lofty places which I climbed up to like a *mountain goat* (?), since for the advance of my chariots they were not practicable. I left my chariots in the plain when to those mountain regions I climbed up. The allied nations then assembled their armies to make war, conflict, and battle. In the city *Atzuta* they strongly fortified their position. In that city, situated on an eminence, with them I fought and their troops I cut in pieces. The best of their soldiers on the heights of the mountain I *destroyed* (?). The chiefs of their army I threw down the ravines and precipices. Against the cities, which are on the mountain summits, I now advanced again for the second time. Twenty-five cities of the land of Kharia, which stand in the provinces of Aya, Suira, Itni, Tarsu, Shalgu (?), Arzanibiu, Urutzu, and Anitku, I took. I carried off their women, &c. Their cities in flames I burnt, destroyed and overthrew.

XIV. (iii. 66). *Rawlinson.*

The people of Adavas feared to engage in battle with me; they left their habitations, and fled like birds to the peaks of the lofty mountains. The terror of Ashur my lord overwhelmed them; they came and submitted to my yoke; I imposed on them tribute and offerings.

XV. (iii. 73).

The countries of Tsaravas and Ammavas, which from the olden time had never submitted, I swept like heaps of stubble; with their

Hincks.

and Aya—entangled mountains, which pierced like the point of a sword, which were unfit for the passage of my chariots. I caused the chariots to stay in the *level ground*. I passed through the deeply cleft mountains. The whole of the strange countries and their numerous armies *came out against me*, and with the weapons of the close and distant fight, &c.

XIV. (iii. 66). *Talbot.*

The people of Adavas fled from my fierce attack and abandoned their territory. To the summits of lofty mountains, like they escaped. The religious rites of Ashur, my lord, they had entirely swept away; but now they returned and submitted to my authority. Taxes and tribute I imposed upon them.

XV. (iii. 73).

The cities of Tisaravas and Ammavas, which from n ti s never know the true religion, like a heap of stubble I s

Rawlinson.

forces in the country of Aruma I fought, and I defeated them. The ranks of their fighting men I levelled like grass. I bore away their Gods; their moveables, their wealth, and their valuables I carried off. Their cities I burnt with fire, I destroyed and overthrew, and converted into heaps and mounds. The heavy yoke of my empire I imposed on them. I attached them to the worship of Ashur, my lord.

XVI. (iii. 88).

I took the countries of Itsua and Daria, which were turbulent and disobedient. Tribute and offerings I imposed on them. I attached them to the worship of Ashur.

XVII. (iii. 92).

In my triumphant progress over my enemies, my chariots and troops I assembled; I crossed the lower Zab. The countries of Muraddan and Tsaradavas, which were near Atsanu and Atúva, difficult regions, I captured; their warriors I cut down like weeds (?). The city of Muraddan, their capital city, and the regions towards the rising sun, I took possession of. Their gods, their wealth, and their valuables, one *soas* bars of iron, 30 talents of iron, the abundant wealth of the lords, of their palaces, and their moveables, I carried off. This city I burnt with fire, I destroyed and overthrew. At this time this iron to the God Vul, my great lord and guardian, I dedicated.

XVIII. (iv. 7).

Rawlinson.

In the might and power of Ashur my lord, I went to the country of Tsugi, belonging to Gilkhi, which did not acknowledge Ashur my lord. With 4000 of their troops, belonging to the countries Khimi, Lukhi, Arirgi, Alamun, Nuni, and all the far-spread land of the *Akhi*, in the country of Khirikhi, a difficult region, which rose up like metal posts, with all their people I fought on foot (?). I defeated them; the bodies of their fighting

Talbot.

In the most high name of Ashur, my lord, I then marched against the city of Tsugi, in the land of Kilkhi, who worship not Ashur, my lord. With 4000 of their soldiers, men of the cities of Khimi, Lukhi, Arirgi, Alamun, Nuni, and all the allied cities, in the city Kiriki, which is on a rocky eminence, which I climbed up like a *mountain goat* (?). With all those nations I fought in my and I conquered them. Their heavy-armed soldiers on the

Talbot.

away. I fought with their army in the region of Aruma, and their troops I cut in pieces. Their best armed soldiers like I put to death. Their cities I destroyed, their gods I carried off. Their women, &c., I swept away. Their cities in flames I burnt, destroyed and overthrew, and reduced them once more to ruins and rubbish. The yoke of my empire heavily upon them I laid, and I gave their land as a special possession unto Ashur, my lord.

XVI. (iii. 88).

The people of Itzua and Daraya, who were heretics and unbelievers, I subdued. Taxes and tribute upon them I imposed, and I confiscated their lands unto Ashur, my lord.

XVII. (iii. 92).

In my I assembled my chiefs and my army. I crossed the *lower* (?) Zab; I took the cities of Muratlik and Tsardavas (?), which are in the highlands of Atzaniu and Athu. Their army like I cut in pieces. Their stronghold, the city of Muratlik, on the second day at sunrise I captured. Their gods, their and their with sixty *shinki* of treasure, and thirty talents of together with their women, I carried off. That city in flames I burnt, destroyed, and overthrew. Shortly afterwards I took that treasure and dedicated it to YEM, the great lord, my preserver.

XVIII. (iv. 7).

Oppert.

In the execution of the will of Asur, my lord, I went to the land of Sugi, in the land of Kirhi, the subjects of Asur, my lord, with 6000 of the army of the lands of Himi, Lukhi, Arirgi, Alumun, Nimni, and the rest of the enemies they came I fought them in the plains; I defeated them; I heaped up into heaps the warriors dispersed in the glens of the mountains. The trees of the woods of Hirha I burnt like straw. I subdued the land of Sukhi, for

Rawlinson.

men on the tops of the mountains I heaped in masses. The carcases of their warriors I strewed over the country of Khirikhi like chaff. I took the entire country of Tsugi. 25 of their gods, their moveables, their wealth, and their valuables I carried off. Many of their cities I burnt with fire, I destroyed and overthrew. The men of their armies submitted to my yoke. I had mercy on them. I imposed on them tribute and offerings. With attachment to the worship of Ashur, my lord, I entrusted them (*i. e.* I caused them to worship Ashur).

Talbot.

mountain heights I *destroyed* (?), The chiefs of their *army* in the city Kirika like I burnt. The city of Tsugi I completely destroyed. Twenty-five images of their gods, with their women, &c., &c., I carried off. All their cities in flames I burnt, destroyed, and overthrew. The best of their soldiers submitted to my authority; I pardoned them. Taxes and tribute upon them I imposed. Their territory I annexed to the special possessions of Ashur, my lord.

XIX. (iv. 32).

At this time 25 of the gods belonging to those countries, subject to my government, which I had taken, I dedicated for the honor of the temple of the Queen of glory (?), the great ancestress of Ashur my lord, of Anu, and of Vul, the Goddess who is the guardian of all the public temples of my city of Ashur, and of all the goddesses of my country.

A few days after I took those twenty-five gods of the Gentiles, the plunder of my hands which I had carried off, and in the temple of Tuhuta and the temple of Rheca, the Great Wife, unto the honour of Ashur, Anu, Yem, and the moon, surnamed Assuriti, and in the temple of the Queens of my city of Ashur, and of the goddesses of my land, I solemnly dedicated them.

XX. (iv. 40).

Tiglath-Pileser, the powerful king; the subduer of hostile races; the conqueror of the whole circle of kings.

Tiglath-Pileser, the great king: conqueror of his enemies: of all kings.

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XXI. (iv. 43).

At this time, in exalted rever-

Then in the supreme name of

Oppert.

its punishment. I took away twenty-five of their gods, their captives, their herds, and their treasures; the whole of their town I burnt in flames, I destroyed, I undermined. I took from them tributes and gifts; with rostrations before god Asur, my lord, I received their contributions.

XIX. (iv. 32).

In these days I brought the twenty-five gods of these countries, who were the prey of my hands, to the sanctuary of Taoath, the great protectress, to the shrines of Asur, my lord, of Anu, Ilu, and Ishtar, the givers of eternal blessings, who created my city Assur, and of the Ashtaroth, who created my land.

XX. (iv. 40).

Tiglat-pileser, the mighty king who subdued the regions of the rebels, the ruler of the whole, the arbitrator of kings.

XXI. (iv. 43).

In these days,

Rawlinson.

ence to Ashur, my lord, by the godlike support (?) of the heroic "Sun," having in the service of the great gods, ruled over the four regions imperially; there being found (to me) no equal in war, and no second in battle, to the countries of the powerful kings who dwelt upon the upper ocean and had never made their submission, the lord Ashur having urged me, I went. Difficult mountain chains, and distant (or inaccessible) hills, which none of our kings had ever previously reached, tedious paths and unopened roads I traversed. The countries of Elama, of Amadana, of Eltis, of Sherabili, of *Likhuna*, of Tirkakhuli, of Kisra, of Likhanubi, of Elula, of Khastare, of Sakhisara, of Hubira, of Miliatruni, of Sulianzi (?), of Nubanashe, and of Sheshe, 16 strong countries, the easy parts in my chariots, and the difficult parts in waggons of iron, I passed through; the thickets of the mountains I cut down; bridges for the passage of my troops I prepared; I crossed over the Euphrates; the king of Elammi, the king of Tunubi, the king of Tuhali, the king of Kindari, the king of Huzula, the king of Vanzamuni, the king of Andiabi, the king of Pilakinna, the king of Aturgina, the king of Kulibartzini, the king of Pini-birni, the king of Khimua, the king of Püiteri, the king of Vairam, the king of Sururia, the king of Abäeni, the king of Adäeni,

Talbot.

Ashur, my lord, in the of the Sun, I *assembled* (?) my army in the martial service of the great gods who dwell in the Euphrates-land, I assembled them in such numbers that they could hardly be counted, and against the many nations and kings of the Upper Sea (the Mediterranean) who know not the true religion (Ashur, the lord, conducting me) I advanced in hostile array.

Rocky ascents and steep hills, of which in times past former kings knew not the positions, after lofty I ascended.

The cities of Elama, Amadan, Ilkish, Sharabili, Tarkhuna, Tarkakuli, Kisra, Tarkanabi, Elula, Kashtarai, Shakishara, Hupitra, Miliatruni, Sulianzi, Nubanasha, and Tarsha, sixteen fortified cities seated on eminences

The trees of the mountain I cut down, and *roads* (?) (or *bridges* ?) for the advance of my army I constructed. And I crossed the Euphrates. Then the kings of Numi, Tunubi, Tuali, Kindari (?), Hutzula, Unzamuni, Andiabi, Pilakinni, Athurgini, Kulibartzini, Pini-birni, Khimia, Paitiri, Huiram, Sururia, Abaeni, Adaeni, Kirini, Albaya, Hugina, Nazabia,

Oppert.

supreme resolution of Asur, my lord, in the eternal will of the Sun, I regulated in the justice of my administration the distribution of the woods of the great gods of the four countries. I remained quiet, reposing from decisive battles, and from the fights without escape. But Asur, the lord, excited me on the lands of the kings of infidelity (temptation) who inhabit the high mountains, who are tributaries without faith (?). I went off; I traversed in haste (?) the marshes of illness, and the plains of fever (?). I turned their hearts without faith, to the path of equity, and the steps of disillusion. Elama, Amadana, Ilkhis, Shirabili, Tarhuna, Tirkakhuli, Kisra, Nukhanabat, Elula, Khashtaraë, Shakhishara, Uhurra, Miliatruni, Shulianzi, Nubanashi, Shysy: these are the sixteen mighty peoples of the good tablet in my I gathered the roses, and I cut off the pines, and the trees of the mountains. I exacted the provision of food for the march of my army. I crossed the Euphrates. The kings of Elammi, Tunumit, Tuäli, Kindari, Ubatu, Unsamuni, Andiabat, Pilakinni, Aṭurgini, Kulimazzini, Sinibirni, Khimua, Paītiri, Uiram, Shururia, Abaīni, Adaīni, Kirini, Kabaya, Ugini, Naṣabia, Abarsuni, Dayaīni, the twenty-three kings of the stream-lands, were allied (against me) in this country, with their forces and armies.

Rawlinson.

the king of Kirini, the king of Albaya, the king of Vagina, the king of Nazabia, the king of *Amalsiú*, the king of Dayeni, in all 23 kings of the countries of Nairi, in their own provinces having assembled their chariots and troops, they came to fight with me (literally, to make war and do battle). By means of my powerful servants I straitened them (or brought them into difficulties). I caused the destruction of their far-spreading troops, as if with the destroying tempest of Vul. I levelled the ranks of their warriors, both on the tops of the mountains and on the battlements of the cities, like grass (?). Two soss (120) of their chariots I held as a trophy from the midst of the fight; one soss (60) of the kings of the countries of Nairi, and of those who had come to their assistance, in my victory as far as the upper ocean I pursued them; I took their great castles; I plundered their moveables, their wealth and their valuables; their cities I burnt with fire, I destroyed and overthrew, and converted into heaps and mounds. Drove of

many horses and mules, of calves and of lambs, their property, in countless numbers I carried off. Many of the kings of the countries of Nairi fell alive into my hands; to these kings I granted pardon; their lives I spared; their abundance and wealth I poured out before my lord, the Sun god. In reverence to my great gods, to after times, to the last day, I condemned them to do homage. The young men, the pride of their royalty, I gave over to the service of the gods; 1200 horses and 2000 cattle I imposed on them as tribute, and I allowed them to remain in their own countries.

Talbot.

Abarsiuni, and Dayaeni, the 23 allied kings of the nations of Nahiri, throughout all their lands assembled their chariots and their armies, and collected them together to make war and battle against me. In the *conflict* (?) of my terrible arms I *conquered* (?) them. Those who were the chiefs of their army, like the thunderbolts of Yem, I scattered. The primest of their soldiers in the precipices of the mountain, and the first people of their cities like I put to death. 120 of their chiefs in the battle; 60 kings of the nations of Nahiri, and those who came to help them, I pursued with my *susuli* as far as the Upper Sea (the Mediterranean). Their principal temples I destroyed. Their women, &c., &c., I carried off. Their cities in flames I burnt, destroyed, and overthrew, and reduced them once more to ruins and rubbish. (*See continuation page 191*).

Oppert.

They came against me in order to make battle, and fight: in the faith towards my lords, I tamed their aggression, and I annihilated their armies, as if they were drowned by the deluge of Ao....
.... I subdued their cities like
..... the forces who were assembled in the ships I destroyed, the kings of the stream-land, and those who were coming to their defence, I drove them back under the stars of my fortune (?) to the high mountains; I took their great refuges (fortresses); their captives, their herds, and their treasures, I carried them off; I burnt their cities in fire, I destroyed them; I undermined them; I changed them into mounds and rubbish.

Talbot.

I carried off abundant spoil of horses, mares, and their young foals, and other animals. All the kings of the nations of Nahiri I captured alive. I showed mercy to those kings and spared their lives. Their spoils and the plunder which was taken from them, I wrote it all down in the register of the temple of the Sun, as a gift which I dedicated to the great gods. I bound those kings by treaties for the future, and for the time which was to come. And I took as hostages their children, their sons of royal birth. 1200 horses and 2000 oxen I appointed to be their tribute, and I then dismissed them safely to their respective lands.

XXII. (v. 22). *Rawlinson.*

Tseni, the king of Dayáni, who was not submissive to Ashur my lord, his abundance and wealth I brought it to my city of Ashur. I had mercy on him. I left him in life to learn the worship of the great Gods from my city of Ashur. I reduced the far-spreading countries of Nairi throughout their whole extent, and many of their kings I subjected to my yoke.

XXIII. (v. 33).

In the course of this expedition, I went to the city of Milidia, belonging to the country of Khanni-rabbi, which was independent and did not obey me. They abstained from engaging in the rude fight with me; they submitted to my yoke, and I had mercy on them. This city I did not occupy, but I gave the people over to religious service, and I imposed on them as a token of their allegiance a fixed tribute of

XXIV. (v. 42).

Tiglath-Pileser, the ruling constellation; the powerful; the lover of battle.

XXV. (v. 44).

In the service of my lord Ashur, my chariots and warriors I assembled; I set out on my march (?). In front of my strong men (!) I went to the country of the Aramæans, the enemies of my lord Ashur. From before Tsukha, as far as the city of Qarqamis (Carchemish), belonging to the country of Khatte (the Hittites), I smote with one blow (?). Their fighting men I slew; their moveables, their wealth, and their valuables in countless numbers I carried off. The men of their armies who fled from before the face of the valiant servants of my lord Ashur, crossed over the Euphrates; in boats covered with bitumen skins I crossed the Euphrates after them; I took six of their cities which were below the country of Bisri; I burnt them with fire, and I destroyed and overthrew; and I brought their movables, their wealth, and their valuables to my city of Ashur.

XXII. (v. 22). *Talbot.*

Šieni, king of Dayani, who paid no worship unto Ashur, my lord, I
 zed, with all his possessions, and brought him to my city Ashur.
 t I then showed mercy to him. From the city of Ashur
 th safety for his life, I dismissed him. The nations of Nahiri,
 roughout all their districts, I subdued, and all their kings I reduced
 der my yoke.

XXIII. (v. 33).

At the close of that expedition I advanced against the city of
 ilidiya, in the land of Khani-rabbi, who were heretics and unbelievers.
 ey fled at first from my fierce attack, but afterwards submitted to
 r authority. I pardoned them. That city I did not destroy; but
 ook hostages from them, and an increased tribute of one on
 ount of their revolt, upon them I imposed.

XXV. (v. 44).

Then, in the martial service of Ashur, my lord, I assembled my
 iefs and my army, and against the *Akkhāmi* of the Aramæan (or
 rian) tribes, those enemies of Ashur, I advanced in arms. From
 e frontiers of the land of Tsukhi I went in one day unto the city of
 arkamish, in the land of the Syrians. I slew the men and carried
 f in abundance the women and children. But the primest of their
 ldiers had fled from the arms of Ashur, my lord, and had crossed the
 uphrates. I crossed the river after them in my boats formed of
 ins (1). Six of their cities of the province of Bishri I took and burnt
 ith fire. Their women and their children to my city Ashur I
 ought home.

XXVI. (v. 64).

Rawlinson.

Tiglath-Pileser, he who tramples upon the Magian world; he who subdues the disobedient; he who has overrun the whole earth.

Talbot.

Tiglath-Pileser, the trampler on the wicked: the destroyer of the unbelievers: the breaker in pieces of the

XXVII. (v. 67.)

My lord Ashur having urged me on, I took my way to the vast country of Muzri, lying beyond Elammi, Tala, and Kharutsa; I took the country of Muzri throughout its whole extent; I subdued their warriors; I burnt their cities with fire, I destroyed and overthrew; the troops of the country of Comani hastened to the assistance of the country of Muzri: in the mountains I fought with them and defeated them. In the metropolis, the city of Arin, which was under the country of Ayatsa, I besieged them; they submitted to my yoke; I spared this city; but I imposed on them religious service and tribute and offerings.

On my entrance to the land of Egypt (Ashur, my guardian lord, giving me strength), I took the cities of Elamun, Tala, and Haroëris. All the provinces of Musri (Lower Egypt) I ravaged. Their armies I destroyed and I burnt their cities. Then the armies of the land of Kumani came to the succour of the land of Egypt. But I fought with them in the mountain and I conquered them. I besieged them in the city of Arini, the metropolis of the land of Esau (?). They submitted to my authority, and I spared that city. Hostages, taxes, and tribute I imposed upon them.

XXVIII. (v. 82).

At this time the whole country of Comani which was in alliance with the country of Muzri, all their people assembled and arose to do battle and make war. By means of my valiant servants I fought with 20,000 of their numerous troops in the country of Tala,

But soon afterwards all the land of Kumani, who had come a second time to the succour of the land of Egypt, assembled all their tribes, and took up a strongly-fortified position. In the martial array of my terrible arms, I fought with them in the city of

XXVI. (v. 64).

Hincks.

Tiklat-pal-içri, the trampler on the (*disturbers of society*), the leader into captivity of the disaffected, the sender forth of his weapons in all directions.

XXVII. (v. 67).

Assur, my lord, gave me a commission to subdue the country of Muçur, and I posted myself between Mounts Elamun, Tala, and Kharuç. I subdued Muçur as far as it extended. I made captives of their army, and I burned, threw down, and dug up their towns. An army of the Quwanu then advanced for the deliverance of Muçur. I fought with them on a mountain and defeated them. I shut them up in a single town of those which had been on the slope of Mount Ahiza. They submitted to my yoke, and I spared that town. I required hostages, and imposed on them a tribute by weight and tale.

XXVIII. (v. 82).

At that time the whole of the Quwanu, who had been called to the assistance of Muçur, assembled their several tribes, and encouraged one another to engage in close and distant fighting. *Amid the darkness caused by my powerful arrows,* I fought on

Rawlinson.

and I defeated them; their mighty mass broke in pieces; as far as the country of Kharutsa, belonging to Muzri, I smote them and pursued; the ranks of their troops on the heights of the mountains I cut down like grass (?) their carcases covered the valleys and the tops of the mountains; their great castles I took, I burnt with fire, I destroyed, and overthrew into heaps and mounds.

Talbot.

Tala, and I conquered them. Their mighty men of valour I overcame. As far as the city of Haroëris, which belongs to Egypt, after them I pursued. The best of their army I slew like in the mountains, and their chiefs I flung down the ravines and precipices. I destroyed their great temples and burnt them, and left them in ruins.

XXIX. (v. 99).

The city of Khunutsa, their stronghold, I overthrew like a heap of stubble. With their mighty troops in the city and on the hills I fought fiercely (?). I defeated them; their fighting men in the middle of the forests I scattered like chaff (?). I cut off their heads as if they were carrion (?); their carcases filled the valleys and (covered) the heights of the mountains. I captured this city; their Gods, their wealth, and their valuables I carried off, and burnt with fire. Three of their great castles, which were built of brick, and the entire city I destroyed and overthrew, and converted into heaps and mounds, and upon the site I laid down large stones; and I made tablets of copper, and I wrote on them an account of the countries which I had taken by the help of my lord Ashur, and

Khunutzza, their fortified city, like a heap of stubble, I swept away. With their strongest army I then fought a second battle in the city and the mountain, and I conquered them. I then slew their warriors in their cities and cut off their heads, and threw their chiefs down the rocks. I took that city: I carried off the gods, and then burnt the city. The strong and massive citadels which they had built with bricks, together with every quarter of the city, I reduced to ruins, and heaps of stones over them I piled. I then made tablets of bronze, the spoils of the nations which, in the name of Jah, my Lord, I had captured, and I inscribed upon them (*the story of?*) that city and its citadel. A temple of brick I erected, and those tablets of bronze I placed therein.

Hincks.

Mount Tala with 20,000 of their wide-spread soldiers. I overthrew them and broke through all their defences. I smote them and beat them down as far as Mount Kharruş, which is opposite Muçur. I caught the last of their army in a valley among the hills, as in a trap. I poured out their blood on the *dry places* and the *high places* of the hills. I captured great strongholds of theirs, burnt them, threw them down, and dug them up for *heaps and desolations*.

XXIX. (v. 99).

I overthrew Khuruş, their capital city, like a heap of corn. I fought against their entire army gathered together from town and hill. I defeated them, and caught their heavy-armed troops in a forest, as in a trap. I piled up their heads like *dung*. I poured out their blood on the *high places* and the *dry places* of the mountain. The aforesaid city I captured; their *wretched* gods, their *slaves*, and their cattle I brought out, and then burned the city with fire. Three great castles of theirs, which were *fiery-red* with burned bricks, and *vaulted all over*, I threw down and dug up, and reduced to *heaps and desolations*. I scattered about the polished stones at the top. I made a *pillar* of copper, the produce of the mountains which through Ya, my lord, I had acquired. I inscribed upon

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about the taking of this city, and the building of its castle; and upon it (*i. e.* the stone foundation) I built a house of brick, and I set up within it these copper tablets.

XXX. (vi. 22).

In the service of Ashur my lord, my chariots and warriors I assembled, and I approached Kaphshuna, their capital city; the tribes of Comani would not engage in battle with me; they submitted to my yoke, and I spared their lives. The great castle of the city and its brick buildings I trampled under foot; from its foundations to its roofs I destroyed it and converted it into heaps and mounds, and a band of 300 fugitive heretics who did not acknowledge my lord Ashur, and who were expelled from inside this castle (?), I took this band and condemned to the service of the Gods, and I imposed upon the people tribute and offerings in excess of their former tribute; and the far-spreading country of Comani throughout its whole extent I reduced under my yoke.

Again I assembled my chariots and my army in the martial service of Ashur, my lord, and I took and destroyed their royal city, the city of Heshbon. The men of Kumani fled from my fierce attack, but afterwards submitted to my authority. I spared their lives. But their great citadel and its towers of brick from its foundations to its roof I destroyed it, and I reduced it to ruins and rubbish. And 300 men of noble families of that place who paid no worship unto Ashur, my lord, I seized and carried off into captivity. I took hostages from them, and taxes and tribute more than in former days I imposed upon them. And the land of Kumani, throughout all her provinces, I subdued under my yoke.

XXXI. (vi. 39).

There fell into my hands altogether between the commencement of my reign and my fifth year 42 countries, with their kings,

Sixty and forty-two nations, and their kings, from the great crossing of the lower Zab, through many various cities, unto the great

Hinck.

it that "this city was not to be occupied, and its castle not to be rebuilt." I built at that place a house of burned bricks, and I placed the aforesaid *pillar* within it.

XXX. (vi. 22).

With the help of Assur, my lord, I took my chariots and my army. I came in sight of Kip-sun, their capital city. The Quwanu shrank from the heavy bows of my close fighting, and took upon them my yoke. I spared their lives. I ordered them to throw down their great castle, and their *storehouses* of burned bricks; and they threw them down from the foundation to the coping; they reduced them to *heaps and desolations*. I received also 300 *fugitive female slaves*, which those who were disobedient to Assur, my lord, had carried away thither. I took hostages. I restored their tribute by weight and by tale to what it was before. I imposed it upon them, and subjected to my yoke the entire of the extensive land of the Quwanu.

XXXI. (vi. 30).

In all, my hand subdued 42 countries and their kings, from the channel of the Lower Zab, and the *borders of the forests of the*

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from beyond the river Zab, plain, forest, and mountain, to beyond the river Euphrates, the country of the Khatte (Hittites) and the upper ocean of the setting sun. I brought them under one government; I placed them under the Magian religion, and I imposed on them tribute and offerings.

Talbot.

crossing of the Euphrates, in the land of Syria, and the Upper Sea of the setting sun, from the beginning of my reign unto my fifth year, I held in subjection. Every one of them I caused to be registered. I took hostages from them, and imposed on them taxes and tribute.

XXXII. (vi. 49).

I have omitted many hunting expeditions which were not connected with my warlike achievements (?). In pursuing after the game I traversed the easy tracts in my chariots, and the difficult tracts on foot. I demolished the wild animals throughout my territories. [A very difficult paragraph.]

Then I went against a foreign (or hostile) city, which had not paid its tribute according to my laws; and though situated in a lofty and strong position, I took it and annexed it to my empire.

XXXIII. (vi. 55).

Tiglath-Pileser, the illustrious warrior, he who holds the sceptre of Lashanan; he who has extirpated all wild animals.

Tiglath-Pileser, the great Hero: the firm holder of the sceptre of the nations.

XXXIV. (vi. 58).

The Gods Hercules and Nergal gave their valiant servants and their arrows (?) as a glory to support my empire. Under the auspices of Hercules, my guardian deity, four wild bulls, strong and fierce, in the desert, in the country of Mitán, and in the city Arazik,

The gods Ninev and Sidu gave their keen weapons and their mighty arrows into the hands of my Majesty.

Then, in the name of Ninev, my guardian deity, four young *amsi*, strong and vigorous, in the land of Mitani, and in the city of

Hacks.

robbers, to the channel of the Euphrates, to Khatti, and to the Upper Sea of the setting of the Sun; from the beginning of my reign to my fifth year, (Last and first, I have caused them to be written down) I took their hostages, and established upon them tributes by weight and by tale.

XXXII. (vi. 49).

When the governments of foreign countries made default as to the tributes, which were not ready for me to receive, I went after them; on good roads in my chariots, on bad roads *on foot*. The yoke of foreigners which was on my country I broke.

XXXIII. (vi. 55).

Tiklat-pal-içri, the valiant *hero*,
the wielder of a peaceful sceptre,
the *fulfiller of an old commission*.

XXXIV. (vi. 58).

Niniß and *Sidu* put into the hands of my majesty their strong arrows and their long spears. By the permission of *Niniß*, my guide, I killed four strong full-grown male Rims (*i.e.* wild bulls) in the *lair*s in the land of Witan, and at the town of Arajiq, which is over

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belonging to the country of the Khatte (Hittites), with my long arrows (?) tipped with iron, and with heavy blows I took their lives. Their skins and their horns I brought to my city of Ashur.

Talbot.

Araziki, which belongs to the land of the Syrians, with my terrible arrows I destroyed their lives. Their skins and their to my city, Ashur, I brought home.

XXXV. (vi. 70).

Ten large wild buffaloes in the country of Kharran, and the plains of the river Khabur, I slew. Four buffaloes I took alive; their skins and their horns, with the live buffaloes, I brought to my city of Ashur.

Ten *amsi* that were young and strong, in the city of Kashni, and by the side of the river Khabur, I slew. Four *amsi* I caught alive. The skins and the, together with the living *amsi*, unto my city, Ashur, I brought home.

XXXVI. (vi. 76).

Under the auspices of my guardian deity Hercules, two Soss of lions fell before me. In the course of my progress on foot I slew them, and 800 lions in my chariots in my exploratory journeys I laid low. All the beasts of the field (?), and the flying birds of heaven I made the victim of my shafts (?). [A very doubtful sentence.]

In the name of Ninev, my guardian deity, 120 *buffaloes* (?) in the conflict of the chace, on my lands I slew, and 800 of them in my chariot, in *enclosed parks* (?), I destroyed.

XXXVII. (vi. 85).

From all the enemies of Ashur, the whole of them, I exacted labour (?). I made, and finished the repairs of, the temple of the goddess Astarte, my lady, and of the temple of Martu, and of Bel,

From the spoils of the enemies of Ashur, all whose races I subdued, the Temple of the Moon, surnamed Assuriti, my mistress: the Temple of Martu: the Temple of Bellura: the Temple of,

Hincke.

against Khatti, with my strong spears pointed with iron, and with my *ponderous maces*. I brought their skins and their horns to my city Assur.

XXXV. (vi. 70).

I killed four great male elephants in the land of Rasan and on the banks of the Khabur. I took captives four elephants that survived. I brought their skins and their tusks, along with the elephants that survived, to my city Assur.

XXXVI. (vi. 76).

By the *permission* of *Ninib*, my guide, I killed 120 beasts of prey by my *valiant self*, when my majesty approached on *foot*. I also took captives 800 beasts of prey, when in my chariots, *by means of pitfalls*. [Three lines follow, of which I cannot assign the meaning.]

XXXVII. (vi. 85).

After I had subdued the enemies of Assur in all directions, I rebuilt the house of the *blessed* "Istar, my mistress; the house of Martu; the house of Bil and Ra; and the house of the gods; temples

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and Il, and of the sacred buildings and shrines (?) of the gods belonging to my city of Ashur. I purified (?) their shrines (?), and set up inside the images of the great gods, my lords. The royal palaces of all the great fortified cities throughout my dominions, which from the olden time our kings had neglected through long years, had become ruined. I repaired and finished them. The castles of my country, I filled up their breaches (?). I founded many new buildings throughout Assyria, and I opened out irrigation for corn in excess of what my fathers had done. I carried off the droves of the horses, cattle, and asses that I obtained, in the service of my lord Ashur, from the subjugated countries which I rendered tributary, and the droves of the wild goats and ibexes, the wild sheep and the wild cattle which Ashur and Hercules, my guardian gods, incited me to chase in the depths of the forests, having taken them I drove them off, and I led away their young ones like the tame young goats. These little wild animals (?), the delight of their parents' hearts, in the fulness of my own heart, together with my own victims, I sacrificed to my lord Ashur.

Talbot.

and the Temple of All the Gods of Assyria, I constructed and I finished. I made the of those numerous temples. The great gods, my lords, therein I established, and Thrones for their glorious divinities I erected. And Palaces I made for royal dwellings; and also the great Temples, which are all through my land, which from the times of my fathers during many years had been abandoned, and had fallen to decay, I built them anew and I finished them. The Fortresses of my land, I walled them round, and Every kind of horses, oxen, and mules, which in the holy wars of Ashur my lord, in the lands which I had conquered, as spoil acquired by my hands, I had carried away, I kept them in enclosed parks. All the kinds of beasts of sport and the chase, which Ashur and Ninev, my guardian deities, had commanded me to hunt, within high-walled enclosures I kept them fast. All of them I surrounded with walls. Their young ones, and the young lambs born there, in the piety of my heart, along with many other costly victims, unto Ashur my lord I sacrificed.

XXXVIII. (vii. 17). *Rawlinson.*

The pine, the, and the alnum tree (?), these trees which the former kings my ancestors, they had never planted, I took

Hincks.

of the gods of my city Assur, which were decayed. I completed them and fixed the times when they were to enter their temples. I caused the great gods, my lords, to enter thither, and I gladdened the hearts of their great godships. I rebuilt and completed the palaces, the abode of royalty, which were strong fortresses in the different parts of my country, which since the time of my father, during many years, had been abandoned, and were decayed and destroyed.

XXXVIII. (vii. 17). *Talbot.*

Cedar trees, trees, and *oaks* (?), from the countries which I had conquered; those trees, which in the time of the former kings,

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them from the countries which I had rendered tributary, and I planted them in the groves of my own territories, and I bought (?) fruit trees; whatever I did not find in my own country, I took and placed in the groves (or orchards) of Assyria.

XXXIX. (vii. 28).

I built chariots fitted to the yoke for the use of my people (or throughout my territories) in excess of those which had existed before. I added territories to Assyria, and I added populations to her population. I improved the condition of the people, and I obtained for them abundance and security.

XL. (vii. 36).

*Rawlinson.**Talbot.*

Tiglath-Pileser, the illustrious prince, whom Ashur and Hercules have exalted to the utmost wishes of his heart; who has pursued after the enemies of Ashur, and has subjugated all the earth.

Tiglath - Pileser, the mighty King; whom Ashur and Ninev have exalted for the piety of his heart: who conquered and annihilated the enemies of Ashur.

XLI. (vii. 42).

The son of Ashur-ris-ili, the powerful king, the subduer of foreign countries, he who has reduced all the lands of the Magian world.

Son of Ashur-Resh-Ilim the great King: conqueror of nations heretical: subduer of wicked men.

XLII. (vii. 45).

The grandson of Mutaggil-Nabu, whom Ashur, the great lord, aided according to the wishes of his heart (?), and established in strength in the government of Assyria.

Grandson of *Munitsi-Nebo* (?) whom Ashur, the great lord
. he *embellished* (?) the city of Ashur.

Talbot.

my fathers, no one ever used them in carpentry, I brought them away with me, and in the wooden palaces of my land I employed them. And the best kind of which in my own country men did not *know of* (?), I brought them home with me ; and the wooden palaces of Ashur city I *constructed therewith* (?).

XL. (vii. 36).

Oppert.

Tiglat-pileser, the supreme lord;
whom Asur and Ninep Samda
blessed according to the wish of
his heart: for the destruction of the
rebels, against Kasur, he walked
in their service he adoring
the star Tarkhi.

XLI. (vii. 42).

Son of Asur-dan-ili, the mighty
king who attacked the countries
of the rebels, who taxed the whole
of the central land.

XLII. (vii. 45).

Grandson of Mutakkil-Nabu,
whom inspired Asur, the great
lord, in attesting to him the con-
stancy of his favour: he created
him for the magnificence of As-
syria.

XLIII. (vii. 49).

Rawlinson.

The glorious offspring of Ashur-dapur-II, who held the sceptre of dominion, and ruled over the people of Bel; who in all the works of his hand and the deeds of his life placed his reliance on the great gods, and thus obtained a prosperous and long life (?).

Talbot.

..... great grandson of Ashur-dapur-II
 of the glorious sceptre
 who rested upon
 favor of the great gods, the works
 of his hands and the gifts of

XLIV. (vii. 55).

The beloved child (literally heart of hearts) of Barzan-palakura, the king who first organized the country of Assyria, who purged his territories of the wicked as if they had been, and established the troops of Assyria in authority.

Fourth descendant of Ninev-bal-ushat, who

XLV. (vii. 60).

At this time the temple of ANU and YEM, the great gods, my lords, which in former days Shemsi-Yem, supreme lord of Assyria, son of Ishmi-Dagon, supreme lord of Assyria likewise, 641 years ago had constructed, that temple had fallen to decay. And Ashur-dabalan, king of Assyria, son of Barzan-palakura, king of Assyria, took down this temple and did not rebuild it. For 60 years the foundations of it were not laid.

The temple of ANU and YEM, the great gods, my lords, which in former days Shemsi-Yem, supreme lord of Assyria, son of Ishmi-Dagon, supreme lord of Assyria likewise, 641 years ago had constructed, that temple had fallen to decay. And Ashur-dabalan, king of Assyria, son of Ninev-bal-ushat, king of Assyria likewise, destroyed that temple and rebuilt it not. During sixty years its foundations were not

XLIII. (vii. 49).

*Hincks.**Oppert.*

Son of grandson of Asar-dayan, who bore the sceptre of the rising of the star Taspir (?), who asked from (or, owed to) the great gods, the mankind of Bel-Dagon, that is the work of his hands, and the formation of his fingers, and who walked (in the right line) afterwards and formerly:

XLIV. (vii. 55).

Fifth descendant of Ninip-pallu-kin, the king of the commencement, the pupil of Asur, whose power grew over his land like a pine (?); who founded the first, the army of Assyria.

XLV. (vii. 60).

At that time the house of Anu and Iv, the great gods, my lords, which in former days Samsi-Iv, champion of Assur, son of Ismi-Dagan, champion of Assur, and so forth, built; for 641 years it went on decaying. Assur-dayan, king of Assyria, son of *Ninip-pal-icri*, king of Assyria, and so forth, threw down that house and did not rebuild it. For a period of 60 years its foundations were not laid.

Then the house of Anu and Ao, the great gods, my lords, formerly Shamshi-Ao, sovereign of Assyria, son of Ismi-dagan, sovereign of Assyria, built it; 641 years elapsed in the cycles of time, then Assur-dayan, king of Assyria, son of Ninip-pallu-kin, destroyed this same temple: he did not fear to deface the names (?); but its foundations were not attacked.

XLVI. (vii. 71).

Rawlinson.

In the beginning of my reign, Anu and Vul, the great gods, my lords, guardians of my steps, they invited me to repair this their shrine. So I made bricks; I levelled the earth, I took its dimensions (?); I laid down its foundations upon a mass of strong rock. This place throughout its whole extent I paved with bricks in set order (?), 50 feet deep I prepared the ground, and upon this substructure I laid the lower foundations of the temple of Anu and Vul. From its foundations to its roofs I built it up, better than it was before. I also built two lofty cupolas in honour of their noble godships, and the holy place, a spacious hall, I consecrated for the convenience of their worshippers, and to accommodate their votaries, who were numerous as the stars of heaven, and in quantity poured forth like flights of arrows [very doubtful]. I repaired, and built, and completed my work. Outside the temple I fashioned (everything with the same care) as inside. The mound of earth (on which it was built) I enlarged like the firmament of the rising stars, and I beautified the entire building. Its cupolas I raised up to heaven, and its roofs I built entirely of brick. An inviolable shrine (?) for their noble godships I laid down near

Talbot.

At the commencement of my reign, ANU and YEM, the great gods, my lords, the upholders of my footsteps, gave me a command to rebuild their temples. I made bricks; I levelled *the site* (?) and I increased its size. I laid the foundation on a lofty mound of earth; I cased (or covered) that place completely with bricks like; and to a depth of fifty palms I so constructed it. Upon this I placed firmly the foundation of the Temple of Anu and Yem, which I rebuilt from its foundations to its roof, restoring it more grandly than it had been before. I built two lofty towers for the *honour* (?) of their great divinities. A rich building—a noble temple, for the abode of their divinities, and the dwelling-place of their greatness, which shone as brightly as the stars of heaven I built and I finished within it. From the summit men watched the rising of the stars. Its towers unto heaven I raised, and its roof with masonry I covered. Within it I made a *paras* for their great divinities, and therein I placed the great deities Anu and Yem. On their exalted thrones I seated them, and seats worthy of their majesty I constructed.

XLVI. (vii. 71).

Hincks.

the beginning of my reign, and *Ir*, the great gods, my the guides of my feet, com- ed me that their temple I be built. I formed crude ; I *cleared out its rubbish, reached the bottom thereof.* I foundations on a great arti- ill. I heaped up that spot ide bricks, like a *pedestal.* I I up at the bottom 50 *tablets.* : top of this (heap) I laid ie foundations of the house and *Ir.* From the founda- the coping I built, restoring : former condition. I also wo great treasuries, where sures of their great god- ere to be put. An excel- use, a proper temple (*where are laid down and the joys ifast of those, in number : stars of heaven, who visit by the favour of the priests atly exalted*) I toiled at, ested, I built, and I com-

I made the interior of it, as itself. Its *cloth roofs,* ling the starry firmament, up and *began to use.* Its : and its treasuries I closed the top. I secured the with burnt bricks. [I within it a faithful *likeness* : great godships.] I trans- thither Anu and *Ir*, the gods, my lords. I made to sit on their ancient
xviii.

Oppert.

In the commencement of my reign, the gods Anu and Ao, the great gods, my lords, ordered me to exalt my force, and to destroy their buildings. I moulded the bricks; I surveyed the ground; I laid the bricks; I made its foun- dation strong as to resist to the shaking of mountains: this spot I fortified by a network of bricks, comparable to In the inferior grounds I concealed fifty cylinders, on which I made the extensive report of the foun- dation of the temple of Anu and Ao, the great gods, my lords; I finished the work from the foun- dation to the covering.

*Rawlinson.**Talbot.*

at hand. Anu and Vul, the great gods, I glorified inside (the shrine?). I set them up in their honoured purity, and the hearts of their noble godships I delighted.

XLVII. (viii. 1).

Bit-Khamri, the temple of my lord Vul, which Shansi-Vul, high-priest of Ashur, son of Ishmi-Dagan, high-priest of Ashur, had founded, became ruined. I levelled its site, and from its foundation to its roofs I built it up of brick, I enlarged it beyond its former state, and I adorned it. Inside of it I sacrificed precious victims to my lord Vul.

The temple of Kamri, of Yem, my lord, which Shemsi-Yem, supreme lord of Assyria, son of Ishmi-Dagon, supreme lord of Assyria likewise, in former days constructed, had fallen to decay. Newly I levelled its site, and from its foundations to its roof I rebuilt it with masonry of brick. More than formerly I enlarged (?), and I constructed it; and within it costly victims unto Yem my lord, I sacrificed.

XLVIII. (viii. 11).

At this time I found various sorts of stone [the particular sorts cannot be identified] in the countries of Nafri, which I had taken by the help of Ashur, my lord, and I placed them in the temple of Bit-Khamri, belonging to my lord, Vul, to remain there for ever.

Then, all the precious stones, the productions of the mountains of Nahiri, which in the holy wars of Ashur my lord, I had seized for a spoil, and had carried them off; in the temple of Kaniri, of Yem my lord, I placed them as my votive offering, to remain to future times.

XLIX. (viii. 17).

Since a holy place, a noble hall, I have thus consecrated for the use of the great Gods, my lords

In like manner, then, as I have made this splendid building and lofty Temple, for the dwelling

*Hincks.**Oppert.*

thrones, and I gladdened the
 hearts of their great godships.

XLVII. (viii. 1).

The *banqueting-house* of *Iv*, my lord, which Samsi-*Iv*, champion of Assur, son of Ismi-dagan, champion of Assur, and so forth, had built, was decayed and destroyed. I cleaned out its site. I built it with burned bricks from the foundation to the coping. I put it in its former state, and *began to use* it. I offered within it excellent sacrifices to *Iv*, my lord.

The Bit-hamr of Ao, which Shamshi Ao, sovereign of Assyria, son of Ismi-dagan, sovereign of Assyria, had built Its place I surveyed (?). From its foundations until its covering I made a brickwork, on the ditches In the middle I consecrated high altars to my lord Ao.

XLVIII. (viii. 11).

At that time, in the quarries of the Land of the Rivers, which through Assur, my lord, I had subdued, I took up *x's* of *crumbling* stone, and also real *x's*; and I placed them in the *banqueting-house* of *Iv*, my lord, to remain for time to come.

In these days the stone *Ka*, the stone *Halta*, the stone *Kagina*, in the mountains of Mesopotamia, which I took by order of Asur, my lord, I worked them, I placed them for eternal days in the Bit-hamri of Ao, my lord.

XLIX. (viii. 17).

As I have laboured on this excellent house, the ancient temple for the residence of Anu and *Iv*,

As I have consecrated the sublime house, the venerable temple for the dwelling of Anu and Ao,

Rawlinson.

Anu and Vul, and have laid down an adytum for their special worship, and have finished it successfully, and have delighted the hearts of their noble godships, may Anu and Vul preserve me in power. May they support the men of my Government. May they establish the authority of my officers. May they bring the rain, the joy of the year, on the cultivated land and the desert during my time. In war and in battle may they preserve me victorious. Many foreign countries, turbulent nations, and hostile kings I have reduced under my yoke; to my children and descendants may they keep them in firm allegiance. I will lead my steps, firm as the mountains, to the last days before Ashur and their noble godships.

Talbot.

of Anu and Yem, the great gods, my lords, and have made it great, and have finished it completely, and have constructed within it the thrones of their great divinities; so may Anu and Yem be constantly propitious unto me! May they exalt the works of my hands! May they hear the supplication of my prayers! *Through many years (?) may they grant their blessing (?) unto my son (?).* And in war and battle may they support him in safety! All the nations who are my enemies, and the cities that are heretical, and the kings who are my foes, may they subdue them all under my yoke! May they send me their blessing against my *assailants (?)* and my enemies. And my footsteps in the book (or register) of Ashur, and of their own great divinities, may they establish firmly as a rock unto future times.

L. (viii. 39).

The list of my victories and the catalogue of my triumphs over foreigners hostile to Ashur, which Anu and Vul have granted to my arms, I have inscribed on my tablets and cylinders, and I have placed them to the last days in the temple of my lords Anu and Vul, and the tablets of Shansi-Vul, my ancestor, I have raised altars and sacrificed victims (before

The record of my high and noble actions, my battles against the heretics, my enemies and the enemies of Ashur, whom Anu and Yem gave me power to overcome, upon my tablets and my marble records I inscribed, and in the Temple of Anu and Yem, the great gods, my lords, I placed them, to remain unto future times, And I took the memorial tablets

Hincks.

the great gods, my lords, and have not *been idle*, and have left nothing for another work, and have finished it in good time, and have gladdened the hearts of their great godships; so may Anu and *Iv* surely compass me about! and may they guide my weapons! and may they procure *thick* shields, with alternate plates of brass and iron, for my campaigns! may they keep me *to the end* in the close and in the distant fight! may they make all the different people that are hostile to me subject to my yoke, the tribes that are refractory, and the kings that annoy me! may they graciously draw near to my family and to my descendants! and may they establish my feet, firmly as a mountain, to future days, in the presence of Assur, and of their own great godheads.

Oppert.

the great gods, my lords, and have not profaned them; as I have not favoured the committing of sin, and have terminated it to their honour; as I have obliged the heart of their divinity, may Anu and Ao for ever bless me! May they glorify the work of my hands, may they listen to the secret of my prayer! May they grant to my sword the force of union and long years of good augury and victory! May they assist me to the decision of battles and fights! May they render tributaries to my regions the whole of rebellious lands, the countries of obstinacy, and the kings who hate me! May they put me in the presence of my enemies and assailants in a propitious moment! May they fortify for ever my power like mountains in the imitation of god Asur and the great divinities, until the remotest days!

L. (viii. 39).

The tributes of my valour, the *spoils* of my battle-fields, the *number* of the foreigners hostile to Assur, which Anu and *Iv* *narrated* for those who should come after, I wrote upon my tablets and my floors; and I placed them in the house of Anu and *Iv*, the great gods, my lords, against future days. Moreover, *I wiped clean* the tablets of Samsi-*Iv*, my father;

Rawlinson.

them), and set them up in their places.

Talbot.

of Shemsi-Yem, my ancestor, and I repaired their injuries; and then I sacrificed a male victim, and I restored them to their place.

LI. (viii. 50).

In after times, and in the latter days (.....), if the temple of the great gods, my lords Anu and Vul, and these shrines should become old and fall into decay, may the prince who comes after me repair the ruins. May he raise altars and sacrifice victims before my tablets and cylinders, and may he set them up again in their places, and may he inscribe his name on them together with my name. As Anu and Vul, the great gods, have ordained, may he worship honestly with a good heart and full trust (?).

In days hereafter, and in the times that are to come: when the Temple of Anu and Yem, the great gods, my lords, and these towers likewise shall grow old and decay: the future King, who shall then repair their walls; and taking my stone tablets and my memorial records, shall repair their injuries; and shall then sacrifice a male victim and restore them to their place: and who shall write his name along with mine, like myself. May the great gods ANU and YEM raise him proudly to a lofty seat, and to a noble throne!

LII. (viii. 63).

Whoever shall abrade or injure my tablets and cylinders, or shall moisten them with water, or scorch them with fire, or expose them to the air, or in the holy place of God shall assign them a position where they cannot be seen or understood, or who shall erase the writing and inscribe his own name, or who shall divide the sculptures (?), and break them off from my tablets,

But He who my stone tablets and my memorial records shall injure, or shall destroy them: with water shall efface them: or with fire shall consume them: or shall deface the writings: or shall write his name (*instead of mine*): or shall cut away the emblems: or who shall break in pieces the face of my tablets:

*Hincks.**Oppert.*

I offered sacrifices, and restored
them to their places.

LI. (viii. 50).

In future days, in time to come,
whenever it may be, when the
house of Anu and *Iv*, the great
gods, my lords, and these trea-
suries shall grow old and decay,
if some future lord shall *clear away*
their ruins, may he *wipe clean* my
tablets and my floors! may he
offer sacrifices and restore them to
their places! and may he write
his name with my [name] *after*
my example! and then may Anu
and *Iv*, the great gods, my lords,
graciously keep him in goodness
of *health*, and in the acquisition of
spoils!

LII. (viii. 63).

He who shall hide or obliterate
my tablets and my floors shall
wander on the waters, shall *be*
suspended in the fires, shall *be*
besmeared with earth, shall *be*
assigned by adjudication an *un-*
pleasant place in the excellent
house on high. He shall survive
few years, and shall write his
name *where some enemy shall*
speedily deface it, and shall *have*
it (i. e. the tablet containing it)
broken against my tablets!

He who hides or defaces my
tablets, and my angular stones,
who throws them into the water,
who burns them with fire, who
spreads them to the winds, who
transports them to the house of
death, to a place without life, who
steals the cylinders (?), who en-
graves on them his name, and
..... who injures my tablets:

LIII. (viii. 74).

*Rawlinson.**Talbot.*

Anu and Vul, the great gods, my lords, let them consign his name to perdition; let them curse him with an irrevocable curse; let them cause his sovereignty to perish; let them pluck out the stability of the throne of his empire; let not offspring survive him in the kingdom [doubtful and faulty in text]; let his servants be broken; let his troops be defeated; let him fly vanquished before his enemies. May Vul in his fury tear up the produce of his land. May a scarcity of food and of the necessities of life afflict his country. For one day may he not be called happy (?) May his name and his race perish in the land.

In the month of *Kuzzallu* (Chisleu), on the 29th day, in the High Priesthood of *Ina-iliya-hallik*, (entitled) *rabbi-turi*.

May Anu and Yem, the great gods, my lords, utterly confound him; may their curses fall upon him; may they sweep away his kingly power; may his enemies carry off his royal throne; and may the memory of his reign perish; may they break in pieces his weapons; may they take his army prisoners; and may he dwell an exile for ever in the land of his enemies. May they establish a race of strangers in his place, and may his name and his race perish for ever from the land!

In the month Kunilu, day the 29th, is the birthday of In-yah-allak, Chief of the

u.
writin_g
or who
tures (?)
my ta

LIII. No. 74

*Hittite**Oppert*

May Anu and Is, the great gods, my lords, *exceptionally* punish him and may they curse him with a *destroying* curse: May they *depress* his kingdom: may they remove the throne of his dominion: may they *scatter* the attendants on his majesty: may they break his arrows: may they affect the destruction of his army: may they make him sit *submissively* before his enemies: may *Is* depopulate his land with *pillars of devastation*: may he lay upon his land *heavy weights of calamities* and *large measures of blood*: may he not *promise him life* for even a single day: may he *degrade* his name and his family in the land!

The month Kunilu, the 29th day, in the year presided over by Ina-iliya-aballik-rabbi-lulim

May Anu and Ao, the great gods, my lords, load his name with infamy: may they curse him with the worst imprecations! May they subdue his sister: may they deport the districts of his kingdom! May they confound the language of his authority! May they destroy his servants! May they defeat his army: Into the hands of his antagonists may they give him for ever! May Anu, in bad intention, dismember his land! May he spread calamities over the country! May he excite sickness without remedy! May he entirely annihilate his name and his race!

ART. V.—*Memoir of the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone.*
By Sir EDWARD COLEBROOKE, Bart., M.P.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY LIFE—INDIA—ASSAYE.

1778—1803.

THE subject of this Memoir was born in the year 1779. He was the fourth son of the eleventh Lord Elphinstone, by Anna, daughter of Lord Ruthven. The Elphinstone family is one of great antiquity in Scotland, and many of its members took a considerable part in the political events of their times. It may be sufficient, as connected with the present sketch, to mention that Mr. Elphinstone's father was a General Officer in the British army, was for some time Governor of Edinburgh Castle, and sat for several Parliaments as one of the representative peers of Scotland; also, that several of his relations were connected about the middle of the last century with the trade and settlements in the East. Mr. Elphinstone's uncle, Mr. Fullerton Elphinstone, was, for many years, a Director of the East India Company; and to this circumstance we may attribute the destination of Mr. Elphinstone, and one of his brothers, to the Civil Service of India.

The few particulars I have collected of his early life and education are chiefly interesting as confirming the impression of those who knew him when his character was formed, that he was in every sense a self-trained man, and that his love for literature was self-sown. Until his twelfth year his studies were pursued at his father's house, under a tutor. He attended the High School at Edinburgh in the years 1791-92, where he studied under Dr. Stark, afterwards a Minister of the Church of Scotland. His education was completed at a school in Kensington, under Dr. Thompson, a teacher of some repute, with whom he remained for about two years, until his departure for India. To none of these schools, or preceptors, can we trace more than the

germs of that scholarship and patient persevering study that distinguished him through life. The description which has been given to me by those who knew him when young, is of a clever, idle boy, full of spirits and energy, fond of desultory reading, but averse to systematic study. Lieutenant-General Monteith, one of his earliest and latest friends, who knew him at his father's house at Cumbernauld, adds that he used to assume a lead among his young companions, and was the head of all the little boys of the neighbourhood in their adventurous expeditions. Mr. Elphinstone himself, speaking to me on one occasion of the aspirations of his early public life, described his thoughts previous to his arrival in India, as scarcely having risen beyond a wish to live the life of a young subaltern.

I am unwilling to believe that he could have received any part of his education at Edinburgh, without deriving some of the force and independence of his character from his intercourse with his fellow students at this period. He was the contemporary and friend of Francis Horner and the late Lord Murray, from the latter of whom I once received some slight reminiscences of their boyhood. They were fellow scholars and friends ; and the intimacy thus begun, was renewed upon Mr. Elphinstone's return from India, and cherished by them both to the end of their lives. We know that Edinburgh sent forth, at this period, a band of energetic spirits, who rose to distinction at the Bar, in literature, and in public life. It is pleasing to find the name of Elphinstone added to the list of self-trained men who threw such lustre on the place of their common education.

I may mention, too, in this place, that to Edinburgh Mr. Elphinstone turned, in after life, to supply a professorship founded in his honour at Bombay. Professor Pillans, who was his school-fellow, and communicated to me this incident, met him after his return from India at a dinner of the Friday Club (a re-union of the literary men of Edinburgh). It was remarked, that, with one or two exceptions, all present had been pupils of Dr. Adams, the Rector of the High School. Subsequent to this recognition, Mr. Elphinstone applied to Professor Pillans to aid his views of Indian education.

A little trait of early character is worth noticing, and adds to the contrast between his youth and mature age. Throughout life he was a Whig ; but, when very young, his political principles were so ardent, that he would often refer to his extravagant admiration of Charles Fox as one of the errors of his youth. One of Lord Murray's early recollections of him was that of a little boy in grey, who wore his hair long in imitation of the French republicans, and was fond of

singing "*ça ira*."¹ Another of his early friends, Sir R. Houston, describes this fondness for the songs of the Revolution, and adds that his strong opinions led to some of his friends presenting him, shortly after his arrival in India, with a cap of liberty and tricolour cockade.

I have before me two brief and interesting reminiscences of young Elphinstone. The first is from the pen of his cousin, Mrs. Thompson, sister of Mr. John Adam, of the Bengal Service; the other from his relative, Mr. John Loch, formerly Director of the East India Company. The former writes:—

"Mountstuart seemed to be full of observation and of mischief, but not much inclined to study. I can just recollect him at our house the few days before they left England, and I perfectly remember the contrast between the quiet gentle manner of my brother, and Mountstuart's energy and spirits. I think he used to quote Shakespeare much, and also doggerel rhyme. I remember hearing my father say, he was clever enough for anything, but an *idle dog*. Who could suppose that could have been said of Mountstuart?"

Mr. Loch's reminiscence refers to the same date:—

"My impression of him, when we met in our respective holidays at the house of our uncle Adam, was, that he was very quick and

¹ Since this was written, I have received some amusing details on this subject from Mr. Elphinstone's early friend, Mr. John Russell, of Edinburgh:—

"Mr. Elphinstone's father, Lord Elphinstone, then an officer in the army, was, at the time I first knew his son, the Governor of Edinburgh Castle, where he resided with his family in the Governor's house. This must have been about, or some time after, the breaking out of the French Revolution; at least it must have been some time after our first engagements with the French at sea, for there were then confined in the castle a great number of French prisoners, some of whom made a little support to themselves by manufacturing snuff boxes and little toys of wood. From being intimate with Mountstuart, I was frequently with him in the castle, and our great amusement was to traffic with the prisoners for their wares, and perhaps practise our small French which we were then learning at school, and talking to them. This led to their singing French songs to us, which we learnt from them; and, as they were zealous republicans, their songs were all to that tune. Nothing amused Mountstuart so much as going about the castle singing these songs, which consisted *inter alia* of the '*Marseillaise*,' '*ça ira*,' '*Les Aristocrates à la lanterne*,' and the other democratic songs then in vogue in France. The old officers looked askance at this outrage on their loyal feelings, and Mountstuart, if he had not been the Governor's son, would probably have been checked in a way he would not have liked; but I do not recollect of anything more than possibly a private reprimand having been inflicted. He was at all times a very lively sprightly boy, with a light figure, and curly golden locks, and very good-looking. He left Edinburgh very early after that, and I did not of course see him again till his return from India, when we renewed our former acquaintance."

clever, and could make himself master of any subject; but at that time he was not a student, though very fond of general reading. He was very fond of fun, and inclined to be riotous in his play. I mention these small facts as he was so different in after life."

But I must pass from these reminiscences of his youth, which, imperfect as they are, have their interest, as illustrating his character and disposition before they were developed by the accidents of his profession. What was great and elevated in his character, was the natural result of his being early placed in a profession, and in situations, calculated to form the mind and lead it to cherish the noblest aspirations.

He sailed for India in July, 1795, as a writer on the Civil Establishment of Bengal, accompanied by, and sharing the same cabin with two young friends—his cousin John Adam, who rose to high eminence in the Bengal service, and a friend of his early youth, now living, General Sir R. Houston. After a tedious voyage, they arrived in Calcutta in February of the following year, and Mr. Elphinstone was almost immediately appointed Assistant to the Magistrate at Benares.

No literary tests awaited the young civil servant at this period. He was placed at once in harness; and if he showed an aptitude for business, his future career was certain. This process of training was not inaptly compared, by a late Governor-General, to the practising of anatomy on living subjects; and of its evils and dangers there could be no question. To let loose in India a succession of young men, freed from restraint at an early age, and protected by the nature of the service from the risk of dismissal, was, at a still earlier period of our history, attended with frightful disorders; and at all times the mischief was conspicuous. There were, however, advantages in the system which counter-balanced its defects. Those who are placed early in situations of responsibility, and rise superior to the temptations by which they are beset, acquire a force of character which no scheme of training can supply. The circumstances in which Mr. Elphinstone was placed, were eminently favourable to this early development; and to it we should attribute some of that precocity which he was so soon to show.

I am unable to supply any particulars connected with this early period of Mr. Elphinstone's service beyond an eventful incident.

In January, 1799, Vizier Ali, the deposed Nawab of Oude, who was held in surveillance at Benares, visited the Resident, Mr. Cherry, and, whether under a preconcerted plan, or under the impulse of ungovernable passion, aimed a blow at him with his sword, which

was the signal to his followers for the murder of all the British officers present at the interview, and the attempted massacre of every European resident in the place. We know how the work of death was checked by the gallant resistance of the Magistrate of Benares, Mr. Davis, who, with spear in hand, defended the narrow stair which led to the roof of the house, on which his family was placed, until the arrival of troops put an end to the disturbance. The escape of Mr. Elphinstone was a very narrow one. He was sitting with his friend Sir R. Houston, then on a visit to Benares, unconscious of the murders around them, until nearly all the English were destroyed, or had fled. The two had barely time to mount their horses when they were followed by some of the enemy's horsemen, and only eluded the pursuit by riding through a high sugar-cane plantation, which hid them from view.

Two years after this event, Mr. Elphinstone was transferred to the diplomatic service, which was to number him among its most brilliant members. It was the policy of Lord Wellesley to select and appropriate to this branch of the service the most promising of the young civilians. A knot of them, including in their number Elphinstone's cousin, John Adam, served under the eye of its chief, and rose to rapid distinction in the great events which followed. The names of some of the most eminent of our Indian statesmen are connected with this judicious selection. Mr. Elphinstone never belonged to the Governor General's office (as it was called), but his destination was in every respect a fortunate one. He was placed under one of the ablest members of the diplomatic service, Colonel (afterwards Sir Barry) Close, and in a Court which was about to be the scene of important events.

We have now arrived at a point in our narrative when it will be convenient to take a short review of the position of this Marhatta Court, and of the remarkable events which preceded and followed Mr. Elphinstone's arrival at Poona. So much of his personal history is connected with that of the Marhattas, both in his early rise to distinction, and in one of the most interesting chapters of his after career, that a few pages of explanation will assist us in following our narrative to its close.

In the year 1801, when Mr. Elphinstone was appointed to Poona, the relations of the British Government with that Court were of amity only, and unaffected by any entangling engagements; but the weakness of the Government of the Peshwa, and the feeble character of its chief, gave a weight and authority to the representative of the military power of the British Government, scarcely inferior to what it after-

wards possessed. The Peshwa, or chief, inherited an authority which formerly controlled the whole Marhatta confederacy, but was now merely a shadow of what he once possessed. The power of the Marhattas had indeed risen to sudden and surprising eminence upon the decline of the Mogul empire; but at the end of the eighteenth century it had fallen into the same state of anarchy as its predecessor. The forms, however, of imperial sway in the east, even more than in the west, will long survive substantial power. When the Delhi monarchy declined, its vassals, or soldiers of fortune, used its name and authority to cover usurpations, made treaties, and exercised claims of sovereignty in the name of a prince whom they despised. So it was at Poona. The nominal head of the State—the descendant of the great founder of the Marhatta power—was a pageant prince, in whose name the government was carried on, and from whose hands even the Peshwa, or mayor of the palace, received his investiture. He was treated with the outward respect due to his illustrious descent; but he was subjected to more or less of restraint, according as he showed talents that might aspire to rule. At the end of the last century, the power of the Peshwa had almost reached the same stage of decadence as that of the nominal chief, and the country for many years exhibited the singular aspect of a double pageant; two separate Courts representing these illustrious families, while both were held in subjection by one of the ablest administrators the south of India has produced, the well-known Nana Furnavese. The skill of that remarkable man consisted in using the authority of two great names to support his own, while he held together the tottering fabric of Marhatta power; and had he possessed military talents equal to his civil capacity, he would probably have founded a new dynasty, and revived the sinking state as the Peshwa of the Peshwa of the Sattara Raja; but wanting the skill which could direct armies, his government was oppressed by the great feudatories of the empire, and at last gave way before the feeble arts of Bajee Rao.

This Marhatta prince, whose later career is so connected with that of the subject of this memoir, was, at the time that Mr. Elphinstone joined the Poona residency, in the exercise of a temporary independence, having long been the sport of the factions he attempted to cajole. Inheriting the fortunes of a great family, and with showy accomplishments and address, that had their influence with the multitude, he succeeded in displacing Nana Furnavese, and grasping at the headship of the State. But the country continued to be angred by the armies of the different Marhatta chiefs, and the ungovérty of the Peshwa was at its lowest ebb. Suddenly, however

the army of Scindea, which had long been encamped in the neighbourhood of the capital, was withdrawn to meet the difficulties which beset the northern dominions of that chief; and the Peshwa signalled his freedom from restraint, by acts of violence and vengeance directed against every chief whom he knew, or suspected of having been, the enemy of himself or his father. Among others, Wittojee Holkar, brother of the Marrhatta chief who was at that time engaged in a struggle with the power of Scindea, fell into the Peshwa's hands. He was instantly tied to the foot of an elephant, and put to death in the Peshwa's presence, under circumstances of great barbarity, while the Peshwa himself, seated at a window, listened unmoved to the supplications of his victim, and enjoyed the brutal spectacle of the execution. This dastardly act—for no charge was laid against him but the venial one in the eyes of all Marrhattas, of joining in the plundering which was going on around—sealed the fate of the Peshwa's independence. By common consent, the two chiefs who were engaged in a fierce struggle in Central India, seemed resolved to fight out their quarrel at the very gates of Poona, and in the presence of the pageant court which lay as the prize of the conqueror.

The execution of Wittojee took place in the spring of 1801. In October of the following year the battle was fought at Poona which decided the contest. Jesuront Rao had wrongs which he had vowed to avenge; but his object was not vengeance only, but to get possession of the Peshwa's person, and use his authority to establish his own power. His military success was complete. The armies of the Peshwa and Scindea were chased from the capital in an engagement fought almost at the gate of the Residency, which bore the British flag, and was treated with respect by the combatants. His victory, however, was short-lived. After some vain attempts to set up a brother of Bajee Rao as Peshwa—on which occasion it is curious to observe this pageant of an hour receiving his investiture from the hands of the Sattara Raja—the carcass for which these beasts of prey were struggling, was wrested from him by another power, which seized on the opportunity to establish its own authority.

No one will contend in the present day that the Treaty of Bassein, into which Lord Wellesley entered with the Peshwa at this crisis, was not the cause of the Marrhatta war which followed. A subsidiary alliance with the head of the Marrhatta confederacy, was a challenge to all the feudatories that belonged to it. We assumed a military, and with it a political, authority over the Government that was, even in its weakness, the centre of all the intrigues and struggles of the Marrhatta chiefs. Our interference in the quarre

must therefore be admitted to have been openly aggressive and meddling. It would be unfair, however, to judge the policy of Lord Wellesley by the sentiments of more settled times. We were engaged in a formidable struggle at home, and the dread of French principles and French arms influenced the conduct of our Governors in every part of the globe. To replace by English troops the armies in India that were officered by Frenchmen, was a policy worthy of any Governor-General; and this had been successfully accomplished in the dominions of the Nizam in the previous year. The dangers we apprehended from the state of the Peshwa's Government arose from its weakness. Its territory was the prey of powerful chieftains, part of whose forces were disciplined by European officers on the European model, and controlled at the same time the Courts of Delhi and Poona. A military alliance with the latter recommended itself to Lord Wellesley, as the means of checking these growing powers so adverse to our own; but we need not suppose that Lord Wellesley himself ever imagined that he could carry out such an object without a struggle. He keenly watched the internal troubles in the Marhatta State, to urge a treaty of military alliance on the Peshwa. He had pressed it strongly on Colonel Close, who checked his chief's impatience, and advised him to wait for the progress of events, which must inevitably bring the prize within his reach. There was no indisposition on the part of Bajee Rao to cultivate an alliance with the British Government, and avail himself of their power to re-establish his own; but the terms hitherto offered had been such, that no prince who had authority, or capacity for rule, would have deigned to accept them. When, however, he was at last chased from his capital by a foe whose vengeance he had good reasons of fear, he at once placed in the hands of the British envoy instruments which recorded his submission to the British Government.

I have dwelt at some length on this memorable transaction, from its bearing on Mr. Elphinstone's later career, and also because it should be understood that when Mr. Elphinstone joined Sir A. Wellesley in the following year, and accompanied him through the whole of that brilliant campaign, he had been necessarily familiar with some of the important events which led to the war. He had resided with Colonel Close at the Marhatta Court, witnessed the struggles which overthrew it; accompanied Colonel Close to Bassein, when the treaty was negotiated; and again returned to Poona with Sir A. Wellesley, when the Peshwa was reinstated in power. It is said that Mr. Elphinstone joined Sir A. Wellesley at the express desire of the latter, who had appreciated the talent of the young

diplomatist; and I understand that the statement rests on the authority of one who knew Mr. Elphinstone well—the late Sir Lionel Smith.

He joined Sir A. Wellesley, as his Secretary, at Ahmednugger, early in August, 1803, to supply the place of Malcolm, who was compelled to leave the camp from ill health at the very opening of the campaign. The five months which followed were perhaps the most eventful in Mr. Elphinstone's life. They gave him an insight into Marhatta warfare which enabled him to advise with authority and effect at the crisis of his latter transactions at the Poona Court. Of the importance of serving under, and on terms of confidence with, such a chief, it were needless to speak. Among the proofs which are scattered through the Wellington Despatches of the respect which the General felt for his young assistant, I will only quote the emphatic lines in which he recommends him to the important post of representative of British interests at the Court of Berar, at the conclusion of the treaty of peace:—

“Upon the occasion of mentioning Mr. Elphinstone, it is but justice to that gentleman to inform your Excellency that I have received the greatest assistance from him since he has been with me. He is well versed in the language, has experience and a knowledge of the Marhatta Powers, and their relations with each other and with the British Government and its allies. He has been present in all the actions which have been fought in this quarter during the war, and at all the sieges. He is acquainted with every transaction that has taken place, and with my sentiments upon all subjects. I therefore take the liberty of recommending him to your Excellency.”

Mr. Elphinstone entered upon the campaign with the ardour of a young soldier who has to win his spurs. At Assaye, though suffering from sickness, he quitted his palanquin to follow his general through that desperate struggle, and, as he has described in a letter written after the action, was “well dusted” on the occasion. At Argaum, he was at his general's side when our troops came suddenly upon the enemy, and some confusion was caused at the head of the column by the enemy's guns which opened unexpectedly upon it. The general rode direct towards the enemy with a look of blank dismay, followed by his secretary; at last he pulled up. “There will be time to take those guns before night.” A promise which he fulfilled so literally, that but twenty minutes of daylight remained when he had completed his victory. At Gawilghur, an important siege that closed the campaign, he received the emphatic approval of one so chary of praise, when he told him that he had mistaken his profession, and ought to have been a soldier.

Mr. Elphinstone was fond of reverting to these great events. His respect for the character of his great chief had a tinge of the enthusiasm of youth, which made him impatient of any slighting observations. He has described him to me at this period as at times almost boyish in his manners; then, as afterwards, attaching the first importance to the supplies of the army, and never more excited than when, on one occasion, he received intelligence of the interception of a convoy. He added, what was less to have been expected, that he was most keenly sensitive of what was said of him at head quarters. Of his anxiety to anticipate criticism we have a well-known instance in the letter written to Sir Thomas Munro, vindicating his attack on the enemy at Assaye, which appeared originally in Munro's Life, and was afterwards published in the Duke's Despatches. I may remind my reader that battle was the fruit of a rapid resolve. The British force, misled by false intelligence, found itself suddenly in presence of the whole combined force of the Marhattas, while the separate force, led by Colonel Stevenson, was advancing by another route. Mr. Elphinstone told me that his general took the greatest pains to vindicate himself from the charge of rashness, to his own staff, after the engagement. "Had I not attacked them," he said, "I must have been surrounded by the superior cavalry of the enemy, my troops must have been starved, and I should have had nothing left but to hang myself to these tent poles."

As an example of his chief's perfect serenity, and even good-nature on the field of battle, Mr. Elphinstone told me that when going into action at Assaye, when our troops were moving down to the river, with their flank exposed to a hot fire of the enemy's artillery, he allowed his secretary to put to him questions excited by mere curiosity. "Do you call this a hot fire?" "Well, they are making a great noise," was the reply, "but I do not see anybody hit." The incident, trifling as it is, shows the footing on which the secretary stood to his chief.

There is a very interesting record of this engagement in a letter from Mr. Elphinstone, which I have had the advantage of reading, and which will probably be given to the world should any collection of his letters be published. It details, in clear and picturesque language, the different phases of the fight, from its first commencement, when the small British army almost walked round the enormous force of the Marhattas, down to the close, when the "genius and fortune of the Republic" brought the British dragoons into action, at the crisis of that desperate affair.

Upon the conclusion of the treaty of peace with the Berar Raja,

Mr. Elphinstone was placed by Sir Arthur Wellesley in temporary charge of our relations with that chief. It is to be observed that at the time Mr. Elphinstone received this mark of the confidence of the great Captain, he had not completed his 25th year, and the appointment itself was intended for a public servant of some distinction, Mr. Webbe, on whose death, which occurred shortly afterwards, Mr. Elphinstone was thought worthy of occupying this onerous and responsible post.

Our relations with this Court were not at that time of the intimate nature they afterwards assumed, when the Raja subsidized a British force,—a step in the progress of our increasing authority over a native State, which may be regarded as the practical surrender of all independence. The Berar Raja exercised all the authority of an independent sovereign, and he had been shorn of some important provinces by the progress of our arms in the late struggle,—two circumstances which called for increasing vigilance on the part of the Resident, after the surrender of territory had been completed. Allusions to these matters are scattered through the Wellington Papers, and are chiefly interesting as showing the confidence of Sir Arthur Wellesley in the young diplomatist. Even on one occasion when Mr. Elphinstone expressed his suspicions as to the intentions of the Raja to renew the war, Sir Arthur, while stating to the Government his reasons for differing from Mr. Elphinstone's conclusions, does so in terms which mark the respect he felt for his judgment.

CHAPTER II.

EMBASSY TO CABUL.

1808—1810.

The pacific times that succeeded the stirring events of Lord Wellesley's administration, afforded no opportunity of brilliant display. The only transaction of public importance which occurred during Mr. Elphinstone's residence, consisted in the restoration to the Raja of some of the provinces which had been wrested from him in the late war. The territory was not of great political value to the British Government, and the successors of Lord Wellesley thought it necessary, by their concessions, here and in other parts of India, to remove the uneasiness which our late conquests had occasioned. Mr. Elphinstone's conduct in this transaction must have confirmed the confidence

of the Government in his abilities, for we find him transferred in March, 1808, to the temporary charge of our relations with the Court of Scindea, and from this he was transferred in the following August to the charge of an embassy to Cabul.

The disastrous events which signalised our subsequent relations with this Court, make us trace with interest every step in these early transactions, independent of that which belonged to Mr. Elphinstone's well known work.

The motives which impelled the Indian Government to this unusual step have been often described, but nowhere more succinctly than in the opening page of Mr. Elphinstone's narrative :—

"In the year 1808, when, from the embassy of General Gardanne to Persia, and other circumstances, it appeared as if the French intended to carry the war into Asia, it was thought expedient by the British Government in India to send a Mission to Cabul, and I was ordered on that duty."

These few lines contain the epitome of the whole policy of the Government. In 1807, Napoleon was engaged with his northern adversary, and the instructions for General Gardanne's mission were penned in the midst of the campaign of Friedland and Eylau. A Persian embassy had penetrated in the same year to Warsaw, and it was against the Russian power that the Imperial project was launched ; but the treaty to which it gave rise was equally directed against the British power in the East. While it bound the French to recover to Persia the possession of the province recently conquered by Russia, the treaty was to pave the way to the Eastern progress of the French by the cession of the Island of Karrack ; and agreements were entered into to co-operate with a French army directed against India.

General Gardanne was accompanied by a large staff of Engineer and Artillery officers, who were engaged in military surveys while their chief was negotiating at Tehran. These wild projects were sufficiently indicated by the preparations to which they had given rise, and roused both the British and Indian Governments to corresponding exertions. The continental European war had already progressed eastward, and had given rise to futile expeditions on the part of the British Government directed against Egypt, and a still more futile attempt against Turkey in forcing the passage of the Dardanelles. The Indian Government, now in the enjoyment of internal peace, had recourse to a series of missions to every country that could possibly be involved in the threatened struggle, and the mission to the Court of Cabul formed part of the general plan.

However extravagant the designs of the French Emperor may now

appear, there seems no just grounds for the criticisms directed against our Government for the steps taken by them to meet the threatened danger. It was true there was a lamentable want of concert in their arrangements. Simultaneous missions from both England and India were directed to Persia, and led to undignified collisions between the rival ambassadors; while the treaties into which we entered, led, in more than one case, to opposite and conflicting engagements. The lack of information as to the political condition of Cabul was conspicuous; but in truth the intercourse between these regions and the British frontier was at this time very slight, and the power of the Affghans was measured rather by the reputation of a former generation, when Ahmed Shah advanced almost to the gates of Delhi, and defeated the army of the Marhattas, then at the height of their power. By the natives of India, and especially by the Mahomedans, the power of a state which had given rise to successive conquerors and dynasties, was regarded with hopes and aspirations, against which it was the obvious duty of the Government to guard. Zemaun Shah, the brother and predecessor of Shah Shujah, encouraged by overtures from the disaffected, had passed his short reign in planning schemes of Indian invasion, from which he was as regularly diverted by internal troubles; but which had their influence in India, and called for watchfulness and preparation on the part of its Government. After a series of revolutions, in the course of which Zemaun Shah was dethroned and deprived of sight, Shah Shujah restored the fortunes of his family; and to this sovereign, who had been in possession of the throne for six years, and was supposed to be strongly established, the British embassy was directed.

The announcement that he was to proceed on this mission, was received by Mr. Elphinstone with an eager hope that he was about to take a part in the important events which were convulsing the world. In adverting to this period of his career, he would describe the sanguine views he entertained that he would meet with a field of European distinction, and he entered on his preparations with a sedulousness that embraced the minutest point of ceremonial at the Affghan Court.

These hopes were rapidly dispelled, as much by the progress of events in Europe, as by those at the Court to which he was accredited. Mr. Elphinstone had scarcely arrived at Peshawur when he was followed by dispatches from Calcutta, cautioning him against cultivating any alliance that should not be purely defensive in its nature. His first instructions, written under the alarm caused by the news from Persia, provided for offensive operations against that power, if its

hostility was confirmed : but the aspect of European politics was now changed. In October, 1808, when Mr. Elphinstone left Delhi on his mission, Napoleon was in full conflict with the Spanish insurgents, supported by the material aid of a British army, and was further threatened by a renewal of the war with Austria. The Indian government, relieved from the pressure which gave rise to the embassy, restricted the power of its ambassador, and repented them¹ of the burden to their finance which it occasioned. When the tottering state of Shah Shujah's throne was made known to the Governor-General, and Mr. Elphinstone was obliged, from the state of the country, to withdraw from the capital, the embassy was very properly recalled, and soon after dissolved.

The slender political advantage that could accrue from the alliance became apparent to Mr. Elphinstone immediately upon his arrival at the Court. The sovereign was beset with difficulties, which increased with every month. The hopes of deriving pecuniary assistance from our Government, caused the embassy to be treated with marked respect during its stay ; but, as the envoy's instructions forbade any such assistance, the embassy became simply aimless ; and though it continued to be treated with respect, it was virtually at an end. The political history of the mission is so completely told in two brief extracts from the work on Cabul, that I cannot forbear giving them in Mr. Elphinstone's own clear language :—

"Though I do not intend to touch on my negotiations, it will elucidate my intercourse with the people at Peshawur, to state the manner in which the mission was regarded at Court. The news of

¹ Mr. Kaye, in his History of Afghanistan, says, that Lord Minto censured, in a Minute recorded in Council, the lavish scale of expenditure in this embassy, as also in that of Malcolm to Persia. As Mr. Elphinstone, in the opening paragraph to his narrative, takes credit for the scale of magnificence of that preparation, it is in the highest degree improbable that he exceeded the direct or implied sanction of the Government. The following are the expressions used by him :— "As the Court of Cabul was known to be haughty, and supposed to entertain a mean opinion of the European nations, it was determined that the mission should be in a style of great magnificence, and suitable preparations were made at Delhi for the equipment." I am informed by Sir R. Houston, in illustration of Mr. Elphinstone's carelessness about money, that he "had difficulty in persuading him to claim a large sum due to him by the Government, which was withheld owing to the neglect of others ; but I brought home all the papers connected with the subject, and with his uncle's assistance, recovered a part of it. This refers to his mission to Cabul, by which he was a considerable loser, from his own delicacy, preferring to expend his private funds to fighting with public officers." Mr. Elphinstone's pride of character must have been wounded by the charges of extravagance brought against him, and this may partly account for the delicacy here alluded to.

its arrival reached the king while on his way from Candahar, and its object was at first regarded with strong prejudice and distrust. The King of Cabul had always been the resource of all the disaffected in India. To him Tippoo Sultan, Vizier Ally, and all other Mahomedans who had a quarrel either with us or the Marhattas, had long been in the habit of addressing their complaints; and, in later times, Holkar himself, a Marhatta, had sent an embassy to solicit assistance against us. Runjeet Sing, the Raja, or, as he calls himself, the King of the Punjab, took a great alarm at the opening of a communication between two powers whom he looked on as his natural enemies, and did all he could to convince the Court of Cabul of the dangerous nature of our designs. The Hakims of Leia, of Moulton, and of Sind (each imagining that the embassy could have no particular object but to procure the cession of his particular province), did what they could to thwart its success; and, at the same time, the Dooraunee hordes were averse to an alliance that might strengthen the king to the detriment of the aristocracy; and the king himself thought it very natural that we should profit by the internal dissensions of a neighbouring kingdom, and endeavour to annex it to our empire. The exaggerated reports he received of the splendour of the embassy, and of the sumptuous presents by which it was accompanied, seemed more than anything to have determined the King to admit the mission, and to give it an honourable reception. When the nature of the embassy became known, the King, without laying aside his distrust, appears to have entertained a hope that he might derive greater advantage from it than he at first adverted to, and it then became an object with each of the Ministers to obtain the conduct of the negotiations.

“There were two parties in the Court: one headed by Akram Khan, a great Dooraunee lord, the actual Prime Minister; and the other composed of the Persian Ministers, who, being about the King's person and entirely dependent on his favour, possessed a secret influence which they often employed in opposition to Akram Khan; the chief of these was Meer Abool Hussein Khan. This last party obtained the earliest information about the embassy, and managed to secure the Mehmandaree; but it was still undetermined who would be entrusted with the negotiations. The Persians took pains to convince me that the King was jealous of Akram Khan and the great Dooraunees, and wished to treat with us through his personal and confidential agents; and Akram sent me a message by an adherent of his own, to say that he wished me well, and desired to be employed in my negotiations, but that if I left him out I must not complain if

he did all in his power to cross me. From that time his conduct was uniformly and zealously friendly, nor did he expect that any reserve should be maintained with the opposite party, a circumstance in his character that prevented much embarrassment. He had, however, marched for Cashmere when I arrived, and to this I attribute many altercations to which I was at first exposed.

"I cannot give a better idea of the Doo-raunee Sirdars, or contrast them more with the Persians, than by relating part of my own transactions with both. At a time when Shah Mahmood was advancing from the West, Shah Shujah's army, which had been collected at a great expense, was defeated and dispersed by the rebels in Cashmere, and he was entirely destitute of the means of raising another for the defence of his throne. In these circumstances it was of the utmost importance to him to obtain pecuniary assistance from us; but our policy prevented our taking part in the civil wars of the country, and our public declarations to that effect did not leave us at liberty to do so consistently with good faith, even if we had been so inclined. The ministers who were employed to persuade me to depart from this line of conduct were two Persians and a Moollah; but other persons of the same description were employed to influence me, in the shape of ordinary visitors and disinterested friends. I frequently found some of them in my hall when I rose, and although the necessity of retiring to Chausht procured me a respite of some hours during the day, the ministers were often with me till two hours after midnight. There was no argument or solicitation which they did not employ; they even endeavoured to persuade me that our Indian possessions would be in danger if we refused so reasonable a request; but even *they*, never insinuated that I should be exposed to any personal risk. The utmost of their threats (and those certainly were embarrassing), consisted in assurances that the queen would send her veil to me, and that when Akram Khan returned from Cashmere, he would certainly come with Nannuwautee to my house. But these fears were dispelled on Akram Khan's arrival. At my interviews with him the same subject was renewed; but all importunity, and even all solicitation, was at an end. Akram proposed, in direct terms, schemes of mutual benefit; which, while they provided for the King of Cabul's wants, undoubtedly appeared to him to offer great and immediate advantage to the British, and which showed entire confidence in our sincerity and good faith. When it was obvious that these plans were not acceptable, they were instantly dropt.

"The King's difficulties, however, continued to increase. Cabul fell into the hands of the enemy, and his approach was daily expected

at Peshawur. The King tried all means of raising money. His jewels were offered for sale at less than half their value ; but nobody dared to venture on a purchase, of which the opposite party would have denied the validity. In all his distresses the King never resorted to violence. He was at one time advised to seize a large sum of money which some merchants were carrying from Cabul to Cashmere, on a commercial speculation. He was nearly persuaded to take their money, and to give them jewels in pawn for their repayment. The royal *cauzy* had given his *fetwa*, declaring the legality of the action ; but, on reflection, the King determined to maintain his reputation, and rejected the expedient. In this season of necessity, recourse was again had to me ; and as the Persians had exhausted all their arts, I was invited to the Council of the *Dooraunee Sirdars*. The Persians did not fail to take advantage of this circumstance ; they lamented the rudeness and barbarism of the *Afghans*, pointed out to me what a difference I should find in treating with military savages, and with polished people like themselves, but told me to be of good courage, for that a little compliance would set all right. They even insinuated that it would be dignified to make a voluntary offer through them, rather than be intimidated by the violence of the *Dooraunees*. After all this, I went to the palace to the Council, accompanied by Mr. Strachey, and two other gentlemen. We were led, by a private way, into a very comfortable room, close to the presence chamber. On our way we passed through an antechamber, where some of the principal secretaries and ministers were transacting their business. When we had taken our seats, some of our acquaintances came in for a few minutes, and we were then left to ourselves, to admire the rich and beautiful landscape on which the windows of our room opened. The curtain which covered the principal door was soon gently raised, and several persons in dark dresses entered in profound silence, but without any bustle. They did not at first attract much notice, but on looking at them, I perceived *Muddud Khan* ; and as I rose to receive him, I recognized *Akram Khan*, *Ahmed Khan Noorzye*, and the four great *Dooraunee Sirdars*. They were all in their court dresses, with the red boots on, which are required when they appear before the king, but all quite plain in their attire. They took their seats opposite to us, with *Ahmed Khan*, the eldest of their number, at their head. They immediately entered upon general conversation, interspersed with many civil and friendly speeches ; but they shewed an extraordinary reluctance to open the business of the meeting, and often pressed each other in *Pushtoo* to begin, before any one could be found to undertake it. At length they began at a great distance, talked of their confi-

dence in us, and their wish to consult with us, and at last delicately hinted at their own wants ; in reply to which, I spoke with respect and interest of their nation, and assured them of our sincere wishes for its prosperity ; but pointed out in plain terms the objections which existed to our taking part in their domestic quarrels, and remarked the advantages which an ambitious and designing state might derive from an opposite line of conduct. Ahmed Khan (whose arrangements with the enemy must now have been completed) could not let slip this opportunity of shewing his zeal and his Affghan bluntness, and he began a pressing, and even a sarcastic speech ; but he was immediately silenced by the rest, who changed the subject at once, lamented the disorders of the kingdom, which prevented our having been received with all the honours that were due, and our enjoying the pleasures which their country afforded ; and this conversation lasted till we broke up. After this, I was no longer importuned by anybody, but I perceived no diminution in the attention or hospitality of the Court."

The mission, thus fruitless in political consequences, gave rise, as is well-known, to the only standard work we possess on these countries, and on which Mr. Elphinstone's literary reputation was at first founded.

Much of its value as a standard work may be said to rest on what will appear a defect to the general reader. Though it abounds in graphic, and even lively descriptions, it wants the charm of a work of travels and adventures. The introduction, which gives a narrative of the journey, is written with great spirit. The Embassy penetrated, with a slender escort, the desert which separates the Delhi frontier from Moultan, and thence proceeded to Peshawur. The account of these countries, then for the first time fully explored, has all the interest and romance of a voyage of discovery ; but this portion of the work formed but a small part of the whole. The account of the Affghan country is treated methodically ; and this arrangement adds to its value as a standard and historical work, though it does not render it so attractive to the general reader. The materials of which it is composed were originally collected with a view to an official report, and were the product of different pens. The master hand of Mr. Elphinstone connected together the different chapters dealing severally with the geography, natural history, &c., of the country, and laid them before the Government in a Report, which would probably have been fated to encumber the shelves or be buried in the vaults of Leadenhall Street.

From this fate they were saved by a happy accident. The Embassy, on its return from Cabul, proceeded to Calcutta, where a twelvemonth was occupied in preparing their Reports for the Govern-

ment. Their work being completed, Mr. Elphinstone received the appointment of Resident at the Court of the Peshwa; and while passing through Bombay, on his way to Poona, met with Sir James Mackintosh, who urged him to give the results of his labours to the world, as is modestly told by Mr. Elphinstone in the preface to the work.¹ Fortified by this encouragement, Mr. Elphinstone applied himself to the work of compilation, and pursued it during the intervals which his official duties permitted in the following year. The volume was not published until 1815, and instantly attracted public attention and the encouraging notice of the two leading reviews. That in the "Edinburgh" bears the stamp of the hand of Sir J. Mackintosh, and, with pardonable anachronism, speaks of Mr. Elphinstone of 1808, as owing his appointment to the reputation which more properly belongs to the Elphinstone of 1815, and as "the head of the Indian Civil Service."

That part of the work which has the most enduring value, consists in the description of the manners and political condition of the remarkable tribes which constitute the Afghan nation. Mr. Elphinstone's attention was here strongly arrested by the view of a state of society so different from that which we are accustomed to connect with Eastern government; and his account is of historical importance. This part of the work, which indeed comprises the greater portion, bears internal and distinct evidence of Mr. Elphinstone's observations, even to the speculations which run through it, of the possibility of engrafting on society so formed, institutions kindred to the freer spirit of both ancient and modern Europe. The speculations are only introduced to be dismissed, for Mr. Elphinstone's calm sense could not fail to perceive principles of repulsion and disunion utterly inconsistent with any organized or constitutional government; and I only allude to them as illustrating that peculiarity in Mr. Elphinstone's turn of mind which made him at once the most speculative and the most sober of enquirers.

The contribution to our geographical knowledge was considerable, though the Embassy penetrated only a corner of the countries which the work describes. Greater accuracy was secured to the map of the

¹ There is a slight but interesting reference to this meeting in Sir James Mackintosh's published Memoirs. He describes "the fine understanding and modest manners" of the young ambassador; chronicles their meetings, and gives the subject of one at least of their conversations, in which these distinguished men discussed, in common with Sir John Malcolm, the importance to the British empire of its Indian possessions; but as Sir James is careful only to report his own opinions, there is little in the notice that bears upon the present memoir.

country traversed by the Embassy ; but as regards the vast tract beyond the Indus, Mr. Elphinstone had to follow in the footsteps of Rennel, who has applied to the geography of Central Asia every particular which the literature of the East, or the itineraries of caravans or conquering armies could supply. Those who followed him could only be gleaners in the same field of research. By pursuing the same method of inquiry, and by great industry in collecting additional materials, a considerable addition was made to our knowledge of the geography of those regions. In this task he received valuable assistance from one of the officers attached to the Embassy—Lieutenant Macartney, whose memoir was published in the appendix, and by whose death, shortly afterwards, the public service lost a young man of great talent.

I cannot pass from this chapter in Mr. Elphinstone's personal history, without a slight reference to the views which the ample and intimate knowledge thus acquired, led him to entertain of our political and disastrous connection with these countries at a later date. We are anticipating the views of maturer age, but the reference may more appropriately be made here.

When the Indian Government, misled by the analogies of Indian alliances, attempted to apply the principles of military control which had been so successful in India, to the wild mountain tribes of Afghanistan, Mr. Elphinstone's good sense and experience enabled him to foresee that the step would prove as false politically, as strategically. I can well remember the force with which he expressed this to me, and though these opinions did not carry the weight they ought during the first success of that expedition, they were vividly recalled, when the course of events showed the prophetic spirit with which they had been formed. Whatever strength Shah Shujah might derive from kindred tribes, or from the disunion of others, would be lost, he thought, by the introduction of a foreign army ; and our hold of the country must be miserably insecure. To defend Afghanistan from a Persian invasion, it was essential, he said, that we must appear as defenders, and not as conquerors. We have gained experience since these words were uttered, and we are not likely to repeat the error of 1839 ; but the same wisdom which guided them, might have suggested itself to the authors of the policy of 1839, had they consulted this striking work, where every peculiarity of manner and government, as well as of geography, are as vividly portrayed as they were in the description of those who took part in those campaigns.

But to revert to our narrative. All political interest in the embassy to Cabul ceased when Mr. Elphinstone left Peshawur on his

return to Delhi, and Shah Shujah proceeded westward to combat the insurrection which overwhelmed him. I have already explained that Mr. Elphinstone's official duties were not immediately closed; for, on his arrival at Delhi, he received a summons to Calcutta, to report to the Governor General in person on the results of his mission, and the form and name of an Embassy were kept up, while Mr. Elphinstone and his assistants were engaged in completing their reports on the countries they had left.

After a twelvemonth occupied in this task, he received that appointment with which his reputation is so eminently connected. In October, 1810, he was appointed Resident at the Court of Poona, and joined it in the following March. The memorable events which ended in the fall of the Peshwa's government, and the annexation of the principal part of the territory to the British dominions, are of almost romantic interest, and I shall make no apology for following, in some detail, a very remarkable chapter in Indian history.

CHAPTER III.

POONA.

1810—1817.

In preparing this sketch, I have referred to Mr. Elphinstone's own reports which were published in 1818; but the outline of these transactions is so admirably traced in two contemporary histories that my task has been a very easy one. Mr. Prinsep's narrative was prepared with the advantage of access to all official papers of the British Government; while Grant Duff, after witnessing many of the events he describes, had access to the records of Poona after the fall of the Peshwa's government. It will be scarcely necessary to explain that the duties of a British Resident at a native Court, are rarely confined to the ordinary functions of a diplomatic representative. The lines of separation which divide internal from external politics are finely drawn, and scarcely admit of complete definition under any government; still less in Eastern States, which rest on the power of the sword and the authority of the chief. The relative claims and rights of the British Government and the Court of Poona were defined by

the Treaty of Bassein. A British force was subsidized and bound to aid the Marhatta State, not merely to defend it against external foes, and to chase away the greater plunderers who were ravaging the country, but further, "for the overcoming and chastisement of rebels." This latter questionable engagement, though qualified by the proviso that our force was not to be employed on trifling occasions, necessarily called us in from the beginning of the alliance to establish the Peshwa's authority over his own powerful feudatories, who were scattered through the mountainous district that had been the cradle of Marhatta independence, and who only owned an imperfect allegiance to the Court of Poona.

The work of settlement was but little advanced when Mr. Elphinstone arrived. The country was indeed much improved. Seven years of comparative peace had worked a change which Mr. Elphinstone describes in a letter of a later date. In that letter he refers to the state of this territory in proof of his position, that these alliances, by which we apparently added to the power of a despotic prince, were frequently productive of immediate benefit to the inhabitants. But every advance that Bajee Rao made in strengthening his government by reducing the overgrown power of his vassals, led to exaggerated expectations of the increased strength he was to derive from the alliance, mixed with some obscure dreams of recovering the old authority of the Peshwa. But the character of this prince, the state of the country, and the very obligations we had come under to the different chiefs whose power we had reduced, gave the Resident, from the first, a constant field for the exercise of authority and judgment, as arbitrator between the Peshwa and his revolted subjects. We are told by Grant Duff, that Mr. Elphinstone from the first acted upon the principle of allowing access to everybody, judging for himself, and placing implicit confidence in no native servant; and that he had many difficulties to contend with, owing to the intrigues of native servants, who were supposed to have had influence with his predecessor. By Bajee Rao Mr. Elphinstone was regarded with suspicion, as the friend and follower of Sir Arthur Wellesley. The recollection of the freedom of the latter's remonstrances, and his resolute resistance to every attempt to use the British force for purposes of vengeance, still rankled in the mind of the Marhatta Prince. But the straightforward course pursued by the Resident, and the just principles on which he acted in his mediation between the Court and its vassals, seem for a time to have made an impression on the Peshwa. But with so unstable a character no impression could be lasting. It is the fate of many princes, both in India and elsewhere, to be placed in situa-

tions as dependent and galling as that of Bajee Rao ; and when the lot falls to those who have never possessed power, or the capacity for exercising it, there is no difficulty in persuading them to a life of pomp and ignoble ease. Bajee Rao was certainly in neither of these categories. He was not devoid of talent, but it was exhibited chiefly in a turn for intrigue, that amounted to a passion, and was the source of his ruin.¹ His character has been often described, and it is easy to catch its salient traits. He had the externals of royalty, certain showy accomplishments, that in his youth pleased and gained the multitude, and assisted in placing him on the throne, with a dignity of manner that Mr. Elphinstone described to be as beyond anything he knew in any other court. But these externals covered a heart unstable and false, and incapable of any firm resolve, or indeed of any steady plan of action. Moral contrast could not have been greater than between this weak prince and the noble simple-minded man that represented British power. They may indeed be said to have been types of the defects in the Indian, and the higher qualities in the British character, that were in constant collision in Anglo-Indian history. The struggle in the present case could scarcely have had another end. One so experienced and discerning as the British Resident, could not fail to see through the petty schemes of the Peshwa ; and here his judgment never failed. But weak as was the character of this Marhatta, he derived importance from his position at the head of a once powerful nation ; and the wars in which we were soon to be engaged, rendered him a formidable foe.

It is quite consistent with such a character that he should place confidence in a favourite, and that the influence of that favourite should be unbounded. The Minister who at this time had the ear of the Peshwa, Trimbukjee Danglia, was a person of considerable activity and energy, who raised himself from the lowest origin by pandering to the vices of his chief, and when he was elevated to the

¹ Lieutenant-General Briggs, in a memorandum from which I shall have occasion to quote more than once, refers to the period of Mr. Elphinstone's arrival at Poona, as Resident, in the following remarks : "The Resident was aware that the Peshwa, instead of aiding the Duke of Wellington, as he was bound by treaty to do, during the campaign of 1803, 1804, and 1805, had systematically played into the hands of the enemy, and had even assumed charge of the estates of some of the Jagheerdars who were in attendance on the Duke : the latter, in one of his letters addressed to Sir B. Close, commenced it by saying, "Bajee Rao will never do ; he has broken the Treaty of Bassein (if I recollect right) on seven different occasions : " and he then proceeds to give the instances. This letter which I have seen in the Duke's own hand was dated after the battle of Assaye."

position of Minister and confidant, he distinguished himself by an excessive devotion to his interests, while he worked on his passions and foibles as he pleased. "Should my master order me, I would kill a cow," he said on one occasion to Mr. Elphinstone—an expression of servility and profanity which could not be exceeded.

The state of India at this time (1815) afforded an ample field for his mischievous activity. Although the British Government had been compelled, in the cause of order, to take a part in the internal affairs of the Poona State, its external relations had not been controlled to the full extent that we were entitled to demand by the Treaty of Bassein. Ministers from all the principal States of India continued to reside at the Court, and a considerable amount of correspondence was carried on that did not pass under the eye of the British Resident. This laxity would appear to have arisen from the number of pecuniary questions that remained outstanding between the Peshwa and the neighbouring governments of Hyderabad and Baroda, which made it difficult to close at once all external and political correspondence. Nor did it seem to be of any political importance to insist on a settlement, through British arbitration, so long as there was a disposition on the part of the native states to settle these matters themselves. The negotiations connected with the claims on Baroda afforded a harmless occupation to the Peshwa, gave room for correspondence, interchange of missions, and postponed the time when these sources of intrigues were to be finally closed. When, however, our reverses in Nepal and the unsettled state of India gave courage and confidence to the enemies of British rule, the opportunity was seized upon by Trimbukjee to enlarge his master's correspondence and intrigues, and put forward claims inconsistent with the position of subordinate alliance to the British Government. Matters were rapidly arriving at a crisis that must have compelled the British Government to assume a tone of decision, and Mr. Elphinstone was preparing for this, when the crisis was brought on, in a most unlooked-for manner, by the horrible transaction I am now about to relate.

There is no part of Indian history on which so full a light has been thrown, as the murder of the unfortunate Shastree and the important events which followed. Our subsequent conquest of the country gave us sources of information which were improved by the local inquiries of Grant Duff, and we can trace the undercurrent of intrigue by the light of subsequent knowledge, and with aids that Mr. Elphinstone did not possess till afterwards. The Shastree came to Poona, as the envoy of the Baroda government, to endeavour to bring to a settlement the pecuniary questions to which I have already

alluded. The illusive character of the Peshwa's negotiations were well known to the Baroda government. The Peshwa, though pressing always for a settlement, showed no disposition to arrive at one; and when at length an envoy was sent at the pressing instance of the Peshwa, matters seemed less advanced than they were several years before. The unhappy victim who was sent on this disastrous mission, had personal grounds of fears, and declined to place himself within the power of one so violent and unprincipled as Trimbukjee, without a direct guarantee of safety from the British Government. These apprehensions were lulled for a time by the caresses of the Prince, whose object was to gain an influence over the Baroda Court by binding the Shastree to his side. A matrimonial alliance was projected between the Peshwa's sister-in-law and the Shastree's son, and preparations were being made for the ceremony. The Shastree who was governed by fits of blind confidence and not unreasonable fears, now took alarm, lest in gaining the favour of the Peshwa, he should forfeit that of his own Sovereign, and imprudently broke off the engagement so far advanced, and gave other and more deadly cause of offence in forbidding the ladies of his family communicating with a Court so dissolute as that of Poona. Revenge being the dominant passion in the Peshwa's mind, an agent was at hand ready to second the impulse, and the Shastree was put to death by hired assassins in the open street at a place of pilgrimage, to which he had accompanied the Peshwa, and almost within hearing of the minister who had ordered the slaughter.

There were none of the difficulties in this case which usually obstruct justice in British India; for the public voice, shocked at the murder of a Brahmin in a place of sanctity, supported Mr. Elphinstone in those inquiries which he was called upon to make to vindicate the broken guarantee of his Government. He was absent at Ellora when the murder took place, but on his return to Poona, he received accumulated proofs of the guilt of the minister, and was enabled to address to the guilty Court a memorial calling for punishment of the authors of the crime, which is a masterpiece of energetic remonstrance. The memorial from which I quote is given in Mr. Prinsep's history. It recapitulates the proofs and presumptions of the participation of the minister in the murder, and thus proceeds:—

“On all these grounds, I declare my conviction of Trimbukjee's Danglia's guilt, and I call upon your Highness to apprehend him, as well as Govind Rao Bundojee and Bhugwunt Rao Gykwar, and to deposit them in such custody as may be considered safe and trustworthy. Even if your Highness is fully in of the guilt

of these persons, it must be admitted that there is sufficient ground for confining them ; and I only ask of you to do so, until his Excellency the Governor-General and your Highness shall have an opportunity of consulting on the subject. I have only to add my desire, that this apprehension may be immediate."

"A foreign ambassador has been murdered in the midst of your Highness's Court. A Brahmin has been massacred almost in the temple, during one of the greatest solemnities of your religion ; and I must not conceal from your Highness, the impunity of the perpetrators of this enormity has led to imputations, not to be thought of, against your Highness's Government. Nobody is more convinced of the falsehood of such insinuations than I am ; but I think it my duty to state them, that your Highness may see the necessity of refuting calumnies so injurious to your reputation. I beg you also to observe, that while Trimbukjee remains at large, his situation enables him to commit further acts of rashness, which he may undertake on purpose to embroil your Highness with the British Government. He is at the head of the administration at Poona, and has troops at his command ; he is likewise in charge of your Highness's districts, which are contiguous to the possessions of the British Government, and of the Nizam and the Gykwar ; and, even though he should raise no public disturbance there, I cannot but consider with uneasiness and apprehension, in what manner your Highness's affairs will be conducted. For these reasons, it is absolutely necessary that immediate steps should be taken ; as your Highness will be held responsible by the Governor-General for any acts of violence which Trimbukjee may commit after this intimation. I therefore again call on your Highness to adopt the course which I have pointed out to you, as the only one which can restore confidence to the public ministers deputed to your Court. They cannot otherwise enjoy the security necessary to transact business with your Highness, nor can they with safety even reside in the city ; and everybody will be obliged to take such steps as he may deem necessary for his own protection. One consequence of this will be, an interruption of your communication with the British Government, until the measure I have recommended shall be adopted. I beg that your Highness's reply may be communicated through some person unconnected with Trimbukjee Dangleia."

Nothing was more easy than to trace the murder to the minister of the sovereign. The invitation repeated to the unwilling victim to join him in the temple, the preparations for the journey, the known causes of enmity, all impelled the popular voice, prior to any full enquiry, to decide who was the immediate author of the deed. The

only difficulty which beset the British Government, consisted in the number of the presumptions which bore against the chief of the state, and made it difficult to distinguish between the instrument and the prime mover in the deed. It must be admitted that the Peshwa did his best to encourage this belief; for the bold demand of Mr. Elphinstone for enquiry, when he first heard of the murder, struck dismay into the heart of the prince, and he shrunk back to Poona by stealth, and surrounded himself with troops, as if his safety were compromised by the demand; and when full proofs were laid before him of the guilt of his minister, he had recourse to delays and evasions, which showed how completely he identified himself with his minister. He gave way at last to the demand for the latter's imprisonment, under the reiterated demands of the Resident, backed as they were, after a certain interval, by the authority of the Governor-General.

In his first demand Mr. Elphinstone was necessarily obliged to assume authority and call in the support of troops; as it seemed for a long time uncertain whether the weak prince would not hazard all rather than surrender his favourite. But after levying troops, and all but commencing war, the show of resolution gave way before the demands of the British representative, and Trimbukjee was at length given up to British custody.

The events which followed constitute one of the most singular chapters in Anglo-Indian history. The reparation we had demanded was moderate and judicious. Less, certainly, could not have been asked for; and it would have been difficult to have demanded more without directly implicating the chief of the state, against whom the presumptive evidence was very strong, without being of that kind which would have warranted extreme measures against him, even were the British Government prepared for such a step. The demand to surrender his favourite was in itself most humiliating to the Peshwa, while our moderation encouraged him in the belief which interested flatterers were constantly suggesting to him, that his alliance was of such importance to our Government, that we should hazard much rather than take measures against him, and that he might therefore proceed with confidence in his intrigues with the other Marhatta states, to which he henceforth devoted himself. His manner, too, from this time underwent a marked change. Instead of the consternation which he showed when he thought his personal safety was aimed at, his manner in his intercourse with Mr. Elphinstone, which the subsequent events gave rise to, showed a composure, and even firmness, quite unusual with him.

The imprisonment of Trimbukjee did not last long. The mixture

of carelessness and precaution in his custody makes it doubtful whether the Government attached any serious importance to his confinement; they seemed content with the humiliation to which they had subjected the higher criminal. Instead of sending Trimbukjee out of the country, he was left in a place open to adherents and emissaries of his master, while, from excessive precaution, no native soldiers were allowed to mount guard over him. The plan for his escape proceeded almost undisturbed. Natives sung their intelligence to the captive under the windows of the fort, and of course in the very ears of the English guard, and the escape was easily effected. Once at large he betook himself to the wild hills, and for a few months passed unheeded and unheard of. The plot now began to thicken; intelligence reached Mr. Elphinstone of gatherings of armed men; old Marhatta plunderers appeared at large, and the country was assuming an unsettled state, without the interference of the Government to check it. Trimbukjee himself was traced from point to point, and on one occasion exact information reached Mr. Elphinstone of an interview between the Peshwa and his old minister, without any appearance of secrecy or concealment. Remonstrances were from the first addressed to the Peshwa against the permission to the culprit to move about with armed troops, and it was met by the astounding denial of the existence of any such assemblage; when pressed further, a body of the Peshwa's forces were sent, at Mr. Elphinstone's instance, and returned with the bold assertion that not an insurgent was to be found.

There is something so ludicrous in this shallow attempt to deceive one so practised in foiling Marhatta designs, that it is difficult to suppose that the Peshwa could have looked for more than to gain an advantage of time, until the critical state of Central India, now menaced by the preparations that were in progress to put down the Pindarrees, should give him an occasion to throw off the mask and commence open war. The Marhattas had always cherished the belief, that by reverting to the ancient plundering habits of the nation, and by irregular warfare, supported only by the strongholds with which the Peshwa's country abounded, they might recover the ascendancy which had been shaken by the wars of Lord Wellesley. Views of this kind are said by Mr. Elphinstone to have influenced Bajee Rao so far as so unsteady a prince could be supposed to have a fixed plan of action. Whatever were his plans, they were defeated by the promptitude of the British Resident. Time pressed; for the rainy season was at hand, during which military operations must have been suspended in the hill country; while, on the other hand, an insurrection in Cuttack had

interrupted the communication with Calcutta, and obliged Mr. Elphinstone to take counsel only in his own sense of what the public service required. Warnings to the Peshwa that the course on which he was embarked would bring ruin on himself, were accompanied with preparations for action. Troops were put in motion against the insurgents, who were spreading over the country and capturing forts ; and the singular spectacle was exhibited of war carried on by a British functionary against an insurrection in the heart of a sovereign's dominions, fomented by the material aid of the sovereign himself.

Still the game of evasion and delay was carried on. The transactions which I have thus briefly described extended over several months. From January to April successive remonstrances and warnings were addressed to the Court, of the danger of the course in which it was embarked ; but they were met by frivolous replies or denials from the ministers of state, whose language sometimes assumed a peremptory and menacing tone, more in unison with the active military preparations that were in progress. Instead of wasting our efforts against the insurgents, it had become evident by this time that nothing would be gained without the most stringent measures directed against the chief of the state ; and troops were drawn to the neighbourhood of the capital, to support the peremptory tone Mr. Elphinstone was now obliged to assume. Mr. Elphinstone even hesitated for a while whether the time had not arrived when he should commence hostilities, and order an attack on the Prince in his palace ; but motives of humanity, and regard for the unoffending inhabitants of a great city threatened with assault, supported the public consideration which made the Resident avoid the commencement of actual war without the direct authority of his Government, although the general impression in both camps was, that war was resolved upon by the Peshwa, and delay would only enable him to carry it on with more perfect preparation.

An interesting memorandum has been placed in my hands by Lieutenant General Briggs, of his reminiscences of this crisis, and the copious extract which follows, vividly describes the nature of the contest in which we were engaged :—

“ It appeared clear that Bajee Rao had made up his mind to embark in an extensive Marhatta confederacy against the English. His proceedings were conducted with the greatest secrecy, but they did not escape the vigilance of the Resident. In order to obtain intelligence of what the latter absolutely knew, and what he proposed doing, the Peshwa was lavish in promises and bribes to all whom he

could seduce about the residency. The doctor, who was in the habit of passing an hour every day with Mr. Elphinstone reading Greek and Italian, was supposed to be in his confidence, though he was only treated as a common friend. The Peshwa begged that the doctor might be sent to attend some members of his family; and the kindness that he there received, and the manner in which the Peshwa spoke of his fidelity and attachment to the English, deceived the doctor till the day when war was declared. In the same manner he gained over the services of the English Commandant of the contingent, who, to the last hour, professed to believe that the Peshwa would never make war with us. This last gentleman received two lacs of rupees from Bajee Rao to obtain information of Trimbukjee and his proceedings; but it is only just to him to say, that he rendered an account of the manner in which he had employed part of it, when afterwards called on by Mr. Elphinstone to do so, and he then paid the balance into the Treasury. I joined Mr. Elphinstone as his third assistant early in 1816, and left him to take the field as Sir John Malcolm's Assistant in July, 1817; the other two Assistants at Poona were Francis Whitworth Russell, the third son of Sir Henry Russell, Chief Justice in Bengal, and Henry Pottinger, afterwards well-known as Sir Henry. My acquaintance with the languages induced Mr. Elphinstone at an early period to employ me in making translations of the numerous akhbars he was at that time in the habit of receiving from the native Courts of India, where he had established intelligencers, and his own previous acquaintance with the Ministers of India while Resident at Nagpore, made him familiar with their characters and connexions. At the time I speak of we had had regular postal communications with the several capitals of these chiefs; and as the whole of that department was under our own postmaster at Poona, it was not difficult in a great degree to depend on their reports, which were occasionally checked by sending a confidential agent along each line, under the plea of paying these intelligencers, and to report circumstantially the actual state of affairs. Bajee Rao's foreign communications were made either by means of camel hircarrabs, or by special foot messengers, whose progress was detected by the small javelins the latter carried, every Court having them painted differently, to enable them to command any necessary aid they might require on their route. This answered as a sort of livery, but was recognised only by the officials of the several princes. Similar javelins were used by the messengers of the bankers of the different cities in the native states, but they were for the most part painted in one colour. In this way we, at Poona,

obtained instant information of the entry of any of the messengers of foreign Courts that might pass our postal stations, and were enabled to be on the look out for their arrival, as well as to trace the direction of any despatched by the Peshwa. As it was subsequently ascertained from the public records of his Government that out of the million and a half sterling of revenue which Bajee Rao received, he laid by half a million annually, he must have had at his disposal in 1816-17 upwards of eight millions of treasure in jewels and in specie, and he was by no means parsimonious in dispensing it to effect any of his purposes. He laid himself out to gain over by bribery every servant of the Residency ; but such was Mr. Elphinstone's vigilance that he was aware of those in the Peshwa's pay, and took care to make use of them for his own purpose. So complete was our information, that one of the charges made by Bajee Rao to Sir J. Malcolm, at Maholy, against Mr. Elphinstone, was, that he was so completely watched that the latter knew 'the very dishes that were served at his meals.'

"One night, after a day that had been passed in considerable anxiety, owing to reports of troops brought into the town, I received certain information that the cattle for the guns had been sent for, and had arrived an hour before ; that the artillery were drawn up in front of the park ; that the streets were full of mounted men ; and that the Peshwa was in full durbar discussing with his chiefs the subject of immediate war. I hastened to inform Mr. Elphinstone, whom I found sitting in a large tent, engaged in playing a round game of cards with a party, among whom were several ladies. He saw me enter, and observed my anxiety to speak to him ; but he continued his game as usual for half-an-hour, when, after handing the last lady of the party into her palankeen, he came up to me rubbing his hands, and said,— "Well, what is it ?" I told him the news, which he received with great sang froid, and we walked together to the Residency office. There we encountered the European Commandant of the contingent, above alluded to ; on which Mr. Elphinstone asked him the latest news from the city. He appeared not to be aware of what was in progress, but observed that the minister, whom he had just left, had told him that the Peshwa had discharged some of the troops lately enlisted, and that all was quiet. Mr. Elphinstone then called on me to state what I had heard, and distinctly told the Commandant that he did not believe a word that he said. The latter said that his information was from the *minister himself*, and that as to the troops in the streets, he did not observe any beyond the usual patrols, and knew nothing about the arrival of gun bullocks. The moment was critical ; the Residency

was incapable of being properly defended, especially by the ordinary escort, and the idea of attacking the Peshwa at once from the cantonment, though hastily expressed, was subsequently abandoned. Mr. Elphinstone resolved to defer doing anything until the morning, and then to take such precautionary measures as he might deem proper. I believe that neither I nor he had much sleep during that anxious night. The night fortunately passed quietly; owing, as was said, to the opposition to war evinced by some of the ministers. Bajee Rao was physically an arrant coward; he had always displayed this weakness, and was not ashamed to avow it. No steps were therefore taken by either party during the night, but in the morning a requisition for a reinforcement was made, and two guns accompanied it to the Residency."

At this stage occurred one of the most singular and dramatic scenes in this semi-tragedy. The Peshwa, who had latterly refused all overtures for an interview with the Resident, apparently alarmed at the decisive tone of his language, suddenly invited the intercourse which he had long refused, and endeavoured to overwhelm him with a torrent of protestations and remonstrances. The details of the conversation are given in the published papers; but they feebly report the spirit of the remarkable scene as it has been described to me by General Briggs, who accompanied Mr. Elphinstone on that occasion. So eagerly did Bajee Rao pursue his argument that he, of all persons, was most unlikely to engage in hostility against a power to which he owed so much, that he even referred to his own personal timidity to support his assurances. "How could one," he said, "so constitutionally timid as to be alarmed at the sound of cannon, who requires that no salute should be fired till he has passed to a distance, ever think of setting himself up as a warrior, and placing himself at the head of an army?" To such protestations and arguments Mr. Elphinstone had but calmly and clearly to detail the overwhelming proofs he possessed, that these assurances were utterly inconsistent with the military preparations that were going on, and evidently directed against us, and the inaction as regards the insurgents. Nothing was easier than to convict the weak prince of folly and insincerity, and this was effected in a quiet masterly way that never overstepped the bounds of decorum; but it was quite unavailing to change the resolve of the Marhatta prince. Motives of pride, a consciousness how much the guilt of the minister was involved in his own, and, perhaps, some feeling of regard for him, strengthened him in his haughty resolve to refuse the concession demanded; and the interview ended, like the end of a letter, with profuse tenders of personal regard.

Negotiations proving fruitless, Mr. Elphinstone prepared for action. He sent a written demand for the surrender of Trimbukjee within a specified time, and the immediate cession of three forts as pledges for the act. On the other hand every preparation was made for resistance in the city, and it was hourly expected that the prince would quit the court and take the field ; when suddenly this bold front of opposition was abandoned, all the show of firmness gave way before the necessity of committing himself to hostility, and after the usual amount of shuffling and prayer for delay, the important message was sent announcing the acceptance of the terms demanded, and the cautionary forts were placed in British hands.

These events took place on the 6th and 7th of May. On the 10th of the same month the instructions from Calcutta reached Poona, the absence of which had much encouraged the Peshwa in withstanding the demands of the British representative. The rights of war are proverbially severe. The Peshwa's conduct gave us an unquestionable right to exact penalties for acts of such scarcely disguised hostility, as well as to demand securities for the future. Whether it was wise to impose such severe conditions may be doubtful. We are not accustomed to judge native governments by the more rigid standard of European morality. Something is to be allowed for the influence of education, and still more to the perverted public opinion which influences all governments. Some regard was also due in the present case to the very circumstance under which we acquired our influence in the Peshwa's Government, and this opinion was expressed by Mr. Elphinstone in one of his own dispatches. The instructions of the Governor-General were, to require the Peshwa to close at once all foreign correspondence, dismiss all vakeels, acknowledge his complete dependence upon British power, coupled with the surrender of all claim to the titular headship of the Marhatta State. It further insisted on the surrender of territory for the support of the military contingent to which he was bound, and called on him to acknowledge on the face of the treaty his belief in the guilt of Trimbukjee. These were certainly hard terms, though none of them could be impugned as not justifiable by particular acts. It may be added, that these humiliating conditions seem inconsistent with the desire to maintain him as the head of the State, and were sure to bring forth bitter fruit, unless stringent precautions were taken against his renewed hostility.

Mr. Elphinstone was instructed to make these demands in the event of no sincere efforts having been made to arrest Trimbukjee. The propriety of announcing them to the prince at the moment he had promised concession seems to have struck Mr. Elphinstone as more

position of Minister and confidant, he distinguished himself by an excessive devotion to his interests, while he worked on his passions and foibles as he pleased. "Should my master order me, I would kill a cow," he said on one occasion to Mr. Elphinstone—an expression of servility and profanity which could not be exceeded.

The state of India at this time (1815) afforded an ample field for his mischievous activity. Although the British Government had been compelled, in the cause of order, to take a part in the internal affairs of the Poona State, its external relations had not been controlled to the full extent that we were entitled to demand by the Treaty of Bassein. Ministers from all the principal States of India continued to reside at the Court, and a considerable amount of correspondence was carried on that did not pass under the eye of the British Resident. This laxity would appear to have arisen from the number of pecuniary questions that remained outstanding between the Peshwa and the neighbouring governments of Hyderabad and Baroda, which made it difficult to close at once all external and political correspondence. Nor did it seem to be of any political importance to insist on a settlement, through British arbitration, so long as there was a disposition on the part of the native states to settle these matters themselves. The negotiations connected with the claims on Baroda afforded a harmless occupation to the Peshwa, gave room for correspondence, interchange of missions, and postponed the time when these sources of intrigues were to be finally closed. When, however, our reverses in Nepal and the unsettled state of India gave courage and confidence to the enemies of British rule, the opportunity was seized upon by Trimbukjee to enlarge his master's correspondence and intrigues, and put forward claims inconsistent with the position of subordinate alliance to the British Government. Matters were rapidly arriving at a crisis that must have compelled the British Government to assume a tone of decision, and Mr. Elphinstone was preparing for this, when the crisis was brought on, in a most unlooked-for manner, by the horrible transaction I am now about to relate.

There is no part of Indian history on which so full a light has been thrown, as the murder of the unfortunate Shastree and the important events which followed. Our subsequent conquest of the country gave us sources of information which were improved by the local inquiries of Grant Duff, and we can trace the undercurrent of intrigue by the light of subsequent knowledge, and with aids that Mr. Elphinstone did not possess till afterwards. The Shastree came to Poona, as the envoy of the Baroda government, to endeavour to bring to a settlement the pecuniary questions to which I have already

seventy miles distant. From a letter of Malcolm's, published in his Life, it would appear that he started on this expedition predisposed to regard the late conduct of the Peshwa as a temporary aberration, the result of evil councillors, from which he was already recalled by the penalties that he had suffered. In this good motive he would be encouraged (as Sir John thought) by the language of an old friend, by the hope of regaining the favour of the British Government, and something of the power he had lately lost. When, therefore, in the interview which followed, the same profusion of protestation and argument which had proved ineffective in convincing Mr. Elphinstone was again employed, they were received by one too ready to believe and to trust; and to such excess did he carry this feeling of confidence, that he urged on Mr. Elphinstone, when he returned to Poona, not to allow his suspicions of the conduct of Bajee Rao to interfere with the military plans of the Government, by retaining so large a force to guard against Bajee Rao's designs. Thus appealed to, the chivalrous spirit of Mr. Elphinstone gave an unwilling assent, and the greater part of the troops that held a military occupation of the Peshwa's country were allowed to advance to the north, and take a part in the general campaign, while the protection of this important post was left to three weak battalions of sepoys. By this rash proceeding Bajee Rao gained more than he could have hoped for; and he instantly commenced to take advantage of the opportunity, by levying troops and calling in his feudatories. They began to collect in overwhelming numbers at Poona, while to all remonstrances addressed to him from the British Resident, he had the ready reply that he was only complying with Malcolm's advice to show his devotion to the British Government by aiding in the extinction of the Pindarries.

The first signs of approaching hostility are rarely indicated by the language of a Court or a diplomatic agent. In the present case the professions of the Prince and his ministers were belied by the conduct of the armed multitudes who knew well the object for which they were assembled, and closed round the British cantonment, evincing their hostile intent by a thousand acts of insult and defiance. These demonstrations reached their height during the festival of the Dussera, on the 19th October. A great military display took place, which was attended by the Resident and the British troops. The marked slight with which the former was treated by the Peshwa encouraged the Marhattas to make an open display of hostility. A large body of their cavalry charged directly down upon the British position, wheeling off as they approached, as if to show how completely the

latter were at the mercy of the large force by which they were surrounded.

The position of the British troops was one of unquestioned peril. The cantonment had been placed in the immediate vicinity of the city, by Sir A. Wellesley, for the purposes of defence, and for this it was well adapted; but it was surrounded by enclosures in which discipline loses half its advantage over irregular forces, and from the close proximity of the Peshwa's army an attack might have been made without a moment's warning. The position, too, favoured the attempts to corrupt the fidelity of the sepoys. These were now almost openly employed, and daily brought to the knowledge of their officers by the statements of the sepoys themselves. The circumstance that the families of many of the sepoys were at the mercy of the Marhatta Government, gave to these attempts an importance which alarmed even those who had the highest confidence in their fidelity.

To withdraw the troops from their dangerous position was to provoke the hostility for which the Court was preparing; but every precaution was taken short of the commencement of the struggle that was inevitable, and in which Mr. Elphinstone's eager spirit was now anxious to anticipate the attack of the enemy. Intelligence was sent to hasten the arrival of a European regiment from Bombay; and Sir Lionel Smith, who commanded the subsidiary force, was asked to send back a light battalion to the old cantonment, thirty miles north of Poona, and was further warned to regard any interruption of communication as evidence of the outbreak of war, and in that case to march back to Poona.

A crisis was now at hand, where judgment and knowledge of character are of as much value as the highest energy and resolve. The picture which is drawn by Grant Duff of the doubts of one eventful night, when he stood alone with Mr. Elphinstone, and listened to the din of preparation that came from the city, will be read with great interest.

"For several nights the Peshwa and his advisers had deliberated on the advantage of surprising the troops before the arrival of the European regiment; and for this purpose, on the 28th October, their guns were yoked, their horses saddled, and their infantry in readiness. This intelligence was brought to Mr. Elphinstone a little before midnight of the 28th, and for a moment it became a question whether self-defence, under all circumstances, did not require that the attack should be anticipated. It was an hour of anxiety; the British cantonment and the Residency were perfectly still, and the inhabitants slept in the complete repose inspired by confidence in that prof-

peace to which they had been long accustomed ; but in the Peshwa's camp, south of the town, all was noise and uproar. Mr. Elphinstone had as yet betrayed no suspicion of the Peshwa's treachery, and, as he now stood listening on the terrace, he probably thought that in thus exposing the troops to be cut off without even the satisfaction of dying with their arms in their hands, he had followed the system of confidence so strongly recommended to a culpable extremity ; but other motives influenced his conduct at this important moment. He was aware how little faith the other Marhatta princes placed in Bajee Rao, and that Scindia, who knew him well, would hesitate to engage in hostilities until the Peshwa had fairly committed himself. Apprized of the Governor-General's secret plans and his intended movements on Gwalior, which many circumstances might have concurred to postpone, Mr. Elphinstone had studiously avoided every appearance which might affect the negotiations in Hindostan, or by any preparation and apparent alarm on his part give Scindia's secret emissaries at Poona reason to believe that war was inevitable. To have sent to the cantonment at that hour would have occasioned considerable stir ; and in the meantime, by the report of the spies, the Peshwa was evidently deliberating, the din in the city was dying away, the night was passing, and the motive which had hitherto prevented preparation determined Mr. Elphinstone to defer it some hours longer. Major J. A. Wilson, the officer in command of the European regiment on its march from Bombay, had already been made acquainted with the critical state of affairs, and was hastening forward."

By his hesitation on this occasion, Bajee Rao unquestionably lost the last opportunity of striking an effective blow against British power. The character of this weak prince was probably better known to Mr. Elphinstone than to himself. His confession of his physical incapacity to be a warrior fell short of the reality. The motives which led him to postpone the attack became afterwards known, when his government was subverted. He relied to the last on the success of the efforts to corrupt the sepoys, and promised himself an easy victory without the trial of a conflict ; but the weakness which prompted this policy of procrastination was well known to Mr. Elphinstone, and formed one of the elements in his calculations when he consented to two more days of uncertainty.

The day which followed this council was passed in the usual messages and remonstrances. On the afternoon of the 30th October, the British battalion marched into the cantonment, and Mr. Elphinstone hesitated no longer to order the withdrawal of the whole force

to a well chosen position, four miles from the city; an act which both parties understood as a preparation for war. This seasonable reinforcement, and the additional security we obtained by the position of the troops, put an end to the motives which made Mr. Elphinstone eager to commence hostilities, and he now calmly awaited the attack, knowing the moral importance which belongs to the fact of not appearing to be the aggressor in such a conflict. In pursuance of this policy he still retained his dangerous position at the Residency, and in close proximity to the city, supported only by a slender guard of sepoys. Rumours were rife of intended assassination, and would appear to have been well founded; but a high-minded man was not to be swayed by such fears, and the generosity of his nature prompted him to disbelieve them.¹

Orders were meanwhile sent to hasten the arrival of the battalion at Seroor, thirty miles distant, and the Peshwa, on the other hand, added to his forces by the daily arrival of new troops. At length, on the morning of the 5th, an insolent message reached the Resident demanding the meaning of our preparations, and calling upon him to send away the European regiment that had lately arrived. This was well understood as a declaration of war, and the party at the Residency had barely time to mount their horses and retire, when the advance of the Peshwa's army, now pouring from the city and its neighbourhood in every direction, showed that the long expected conflict was at hand.

To seize and destroy the Residency was the first act of the enemy. As no preparations could under the circumstances be made for a sudden evacuation, all Mr. Elphinstone's papers and a valuable library shared in the general destruction. So complete was it, that Mr. Elphinstone reporting these events to Sir Evan Nepean, playfully remarks "I beg you will excuse this scrawl; but all my writing implements with everything I have, except the clothes on my back, form part of the blaze of the Residency, which is now smoking in sight."

Mr. Elphinstone's experience in Marhatta warfare gave an authority to his advice, independent of that which it derived from his position as Resident, which enabled him to direct the movements of the troops. Colonel Burr, who commanded the troops, a gallant old soldier, but half crippled by a paralytic affection, wished to take up a defensive position, but Mr. Elphinstone, who urged on all the importance of being forward to meet a Marhatta foe, ordered an instant attack, and this bold counsel was decisive of the day.

¹ I am assured by Major-General Briggs that he disbelieved them to the last.

I must here again borrow the picturesque description of the scene which presented itself to the party retiring from the Residency, from the narrative of Grant Duff, whose History, tedious while carrying us through all the windings of Marhatta intrigues, rises into animation while describing the scenes in which he took a part.

"Wittojee Guckwar had scarcely quitted the Residence, when intelligence was brought that the army was moving out on the west side of the city. There was a momentary consultation about defending the Residency, but it was instantly abandoned as impracticable, and it was determined to retire to Khirkee, for which purpose the nature of the ground afforded great facility. The river Moola, betwixt the Sungum and the village of Khirkee, forms two curves like the letter S inverted. The Residency and the village were both on the same side of the river, but at the former there was a ford, and near the latter a bridge, so that the party by crossing at the ford had the river between them and the Peshwa's troops greater part of the way. From the Residency no part of the Marhatta army was visible, excepting bodies of infantry, which were assembling along the tops of the adjoining heights, with the intention of cutting off the Residency from the Camp, and having this object in view, they did not molest individuals. On ascending one of the eminences on which they were forming, the plain beneath presented at that moment a most imposing spectacle. This plain, then covered with grain, terminates on the west by a range of small hills; while on the east it is bounded by the city of Poona, and the small hills already partially occupied by the infantry. A mass of cavalry covered nearly the whole extent of it, and towards the city endless streams of horsemen were pouring from every avenue. Those only who have witnessed the Bore in the Gulf of Cambay, and have seen in perfection the approach of that roaring tide, can form the exact idea presented to the author at the sight of the Peshwa's army. It was towards the afternoon of a very sultry day, there was a dead calm, and no sound was heard except the rushing, the trampling and neighing of horses, and the rumbling of the gun wheels. The effect was heightened by seeing the peaceful peasantry flying from their work in the field, the bullocks breaking from their yoke, the wild antelopes, startled from sleep, bounding off, and then turning for a moment to gaze on this tremendous inundation which swept all before it, levelled the hedges and standing corn, and completely overwhelmed every ordinary barrier as it moved."

Then ensued one of those scenes we are so familiar with in Indian history. The sepoy battalions who had resisted the attempts

to corrupt them,¹ now supported by the presence of British troops and led by British officers, advanced with alacrity to meet the coming host, and added to the list of triumphs of discipline over irregular forces however apparently overwhelming. The affair which followed scarcely amounted to a general engagement. The Marrhatta horse overlapped the British troops, and a bold attempt was made by a large mass of them to destroy a sepoy regiment that had advanced too eagerly beyond its supports. It is said that at this critical moment the Peshwa, true to his character, sent an order to recall his instructions to begin the engagement; but Gokla, who commanded the army, a sanguine and impetuous chief, suspecting the nature of the message that was approaching, instantly ordered a battery to open fire, and precipitated the collision which was now inevitable. The sepoys stood firm, and had almost repelled the cavalry attack before any of the British troops could be brought into action. Whereupon the vast array of the Marrhattas, foiled in this attempt and daunted at the steady advance of the British line, fell back to their old position, and the little army which had gained a victory, the importance of which was not to be measured by the losses sustained on either side, remained master of the field, and again took up their post at Khirkee.

I think it unnecessary to enter upon the question which has been raised elsewhere as to the share taken by Mr. Elphinstone in the disposition of the troops during the action. His position as Resident gave him the control over the troops, and his experience gave an authority to his advice, when he directed the commencement of hostilities; his counsel therefore to assume the offensive amounted almost to a command;² but it is not necessary for Mr. Elphinstone's reputation to suppose that he interfered with the movement of the troops on the field of battle. There was no rivalry at the time, nor need there be now. Colonel Burr, in his report on the action, acknowledges the obligation he is under for the advice of the Resident on that occasion, and many years afterwards I received from Mr. Elphinstone himself a description of some of the principal incidents in the engagement. From his account of the gallantry and energy of the crippled old soldier who commanded, one would have supposed that Colonel Burr, and not Mr. Elphinstone, was the hero of that day.

¹ The Marrhattas in Captain Ford's battalion deserted, but this force belonged to the Peshwa's own contingent. It is mentioned by Grant Duff, with pride, that not a single sepoy of the regular service left his colours.

² Colonel Burr, in his Report, says that the Resident sent a requisition to him to move out and attack the Marrhattas.

I must rapidly pass over to events which followed.

When General Smith joined the force at Khirkee, he found every preparation for resistance on the part of the Marrhattas. They occupied a position of considerable strength; but after their repulse on the 5th, it will not be a matter of surprise that they shrunk from a conflict with the strong British force now preparing for an attack, and after a slender show of resistance on the passage of the river in the front of the British army, the Peshwa abandoned his capital for ever. The campaign which followed, though it lasted for several months, consisted, from its commencement to its close, in the pursuit of a foe whose skill was shown in the doubling and winding by which he evaded the chase of the large force that was employed against him.

Early in the retreat, the Marrhatta host came suddenly upon a single sepoy battalion supported only by two field pieces; and the stubbornness with which this handful of men resisted, and repelled the whole array of the Marrhattas, contributed in no small degree to the political success of the policy of the Government.

Two other important events must be mentioned before I close this portion of my narrative. The dominions of the Peshwa embraced the mountain range which divides the slender strip of territory on the west coast from the rest of the Indian peninsula, and the territory thus naturally strong was formidable from the fortresses with which it abounded. The same motives which led Mr. Elphinstone to endeavour to hasten a crisis when he had to deal only with the marauding expedition of Trimbukjee, led him to urge the employment of a portion of our troops in attacking some of the forts, instead of wasting our energies in a never-ending still-beginning pursuit. In accordance with this advice, the fort of Sattara, the ancient stronghold of the founder of the Marrhatta power, was attacked, and fell after a mere show of resistance; and the moment was considered propitious to issue a proclamation which, under instructions from the Government, Mr. Elphinstone had lately prepared, pronouncing the downfall of the empire of the Peshwa, the assumption of the greater part of his territory by the British Government, and the elevation of the Sattara family, the descendants of Sevajee, to the government of a reserved portion of the dominions of his ancestor. The battle of Ashtee closed the campaign. General Smith surprised the Peshwa's camp; in a short struggle of cavalry, Gokla, the sole remaining prop of an almost desperate cause was killed; and the Sattara family were released from their dependence on the Peshwa, to be placed on the dependent throne prepared for them. The now fallen Prince, whose

cause was regarded as hopeless in his own camp, and abandoned by the Marhattas generally, retired from his dominions, surrendered finally to Sir John Malcolm, and passed the rest of his days in obscurity in the neighbourhood of Cawnpore.

This chapter in Indian history may be said to have been continued in our own day, when the adopted son of the Peshwa, the infamous Nana Sahib, took a part in the horrid acts of massacre at Cawnpore.

I cannot more appropriately close this portion of my narrative than in quoting the graceful terms in which Mr. Canning, in moving the vote of thanks to the Governor-General and the army for their services in the Pindarry war, comments on the important part which Mr. Elphinstone played on this occasion :—

“While the campaign was proceeding thus successfully against those whom Lord Hastings had taken into account as probable enemies, their number was unexpectedly increased by the addition of the Peshwa, the executive head of the Marhatta empire, who suddenly broke the ties which bound him (as has been seen) in the strictest amity to the British Government. Even Sir John Malcolm, better qualified perhaps than any other person to fathom the designs and estimate the sincerity of the native powers, had been so far imposed upon, in an interview with that Prince at Poona, as to express to Lord Hastings his perfect conviction that the friendly professions of the Peshwa deserved entire confidence. In the midst of this unsuspecting tranquillity, at a moment now known to have been concerted with other Marhatta chieftains, the Peshwa manifested his real intentions by an unprovoked attack upon the Residency (the house of the British Resident) at Poona. Mr. Elphinstone (a name distinguished in the literature as well as the politics of the East) exhibited, on that trying occasion, military courage and skill which, though valuable accessories to diplomatic talents, we are not entitled to require as necessary qualifications for civil employment. On that, and not on that occasion only, but on many others in the course of this singular campaign, Mr. Elphinstone displayed talents and resources, which would have rendered him no mean general in a country where generals are of no mean excellence and reputation.”

CHAPTER IV.

COMMISSIONER OF THE CONQUERED PROVINCE.

1817—1819.

With the conquest of the Peshwa's territory we commence a new chapter in our narrative. We have now to follow Mr. Elphinstone's career as an administrator and governor; and the change requires some departure from the plan on which his public services have been hitherto detailed. It would have been easy to compile a narrative by copious extracts from his public despatches; but clear and able as they are, they would have scarcely repaid the reader for the labour of following the intrigues of a Marhatta court. The papers relating to Mr. Elphinstone's administrative labours are of another kind, and abound in broad and general views of policy, which can only be properly studied in the writer's own words, and I shall make no apology for the introduction of some full extracts from these documents, and especially from his report to the Government on the principles of his settlement of the territory that fell into British hands.


No sooner was the rupture with Bajee Rao known at head-quarters, than Lord Hastings, with a promptitude which would seem to have anticipated the event, decided on the extinction of the Peshwa's authority, and the perpetual exclusion of Bajee Rao and his family from any influence or dominion. Mr. Elphinstone had carefully avoided every step which might commit the Government to any particular course, and had even suggested the possibility of reinstating the Peshwa in a portion of his dominions, if it were considered politically expedient; recommending, however, that in that case he should be subjected to such restraint on all his actions as would have left him only a nominal sovereignty. The policy of substituting other members of the family for Bajee Rao was likewise brought under consideration, without the expression of a preference for either of the plans; but Lord Hastings, who was strongly impressed with the danger of reviving in any form an authority so influential with the Marhattas as that of the Peshwa, and whose views pointed to conquest, sent instructions to Mr. Elphinstone on the 15th of December, 1817, announcing the annexation of the territory, and the exclusion of Bajee Rao from sovereign authority; but leaving a large latitude

with Mr. Elphinstone as to the terms to be conceded to the different Jageerdars, and especially to the Sattara family. As sole Commissioner for the settlement and administration of this territory, he was invested with full authority over all the civil and military officers employed in it.

This settlement has been the subject of deserved eulogy; his success in conciliating the Marrhattas to the new order of things has been repeatedly dwelt upon. It would, however, convey an imperfect view of the grounds of this success, if we attributed it solely to so ordinary an expedient as a policy of conciliation and concession to powerful and influential classes. Mr. Elphinstone felt that the difficulties of his task would commence when the conquest was achieved, and would probably increase in proportion as the military subjugation was complete.

To settle the country—*i.e.*, to bring it under British dominion—was a comparatively easy task. The remarkable progress of Munro in the southern Marrhatta territory, who, with a handful of troops,—amounting at its commencement to only three companies of sepoy and a few field-pieces—invaded a country abounding in forts, conquered a province, collected the revenue, and established a civil government, showed how complete was the overthrow of the Peshwa's authority, and the reputation of the British arms.

The only immediate difficulties to be apprehended in the settlement, arose from the influence of the religious and military classes. The Peshwa was a Brahmin, and, from policy and superstition, had encouraged his order with lavish doles and grants of land; while by placing them in every public office, he had left his territory crowded with an intriguing and fanatic class, necessarily antagonistic to British rule. To conciliate them to the new Government by the recognition of the grants and pensions they received from the former Government, was an act not merely of policy, but of necessity. In his anxiety to make known the views of his Government, he followed up the announcement of its intentions conveyed in his proclamation, by a personal visit to a celebrated place of pilgrimage, the resort of the most influential of the sacred class. He then took occasion to address an assembly of this religious order, and renewed the assurance of the security of their grants and endowments. These assurances were again repeated at Poona, when presents were distributed, as a sort of temporary compensation for the lavishness of the Peshwa's grants. If they were encouraged to believe that these acts proceeded from timidity or superstition, they were soon undeceived. A conspiracy was detected headed by Brahmins and the most desperate of the military class



having for its object the murder of the Europeans at Poona and Sattara, and the revival of Marhatta power. It was met with promptitude, and Mr. Elphinstone, who never hesitated to assume any responsibility when he thought the public service required it, ordered the ringleaders to be punished in Marhatta fashion, by being blown from the cannon's mouth, remarking at the time that the punishment contained the best elements of capital punishment, painless to the criminal, and terrible to the beholder. The act, however, was then an innovation in British India ; and Sir Evan Nepean, the Governor of Bombay, wrote to Mr. Elphinstone, advising him strongly to ask for an act of indemnity. This counsel was indignantly rejected. "If I have done wrong," said Mr. Elphinstone to his friends, "I ought to be punished ; if I have done right, I don't want any act of indemnity."¹ We are significantly told by the historian, that this terrible example had the effect of preventing any similar attempts on the part of this intriguing order.

Far greater interest attached to the settlement with the military chiefs. Few of them held Jageers of an extent to cause uneasiness to the Government, but they were numerous and strong in the possession of hill forts, and in the difficulty of their country. Mr. Elphinstone suggested some concessions to a class whom it was unwise to drive to desperation ; the views of the Government were carried out by him with a liberality that produced lasting effects. The expressive terms in which Grant Duff concludes his history merit a place in this narrative :—

"Thus was completed, under the directions of the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, this important change in the government of the Marhatta country. The liberality of the settlement authorized by the Marquis of Hastings far exceeded the expectations of the people, and more was in consequence done for the tranquillity of the Deccan in eighteen months than had ever followed a revolution in that disturbed country after a period of many years. The name of Elphinstone was deservedly associated with the acts of the British Government, and the memory of benefits conferred by him on the inhabitants of Maharashtra will probably survive future revolutions, and will do much in the meantime to preserve the existence of British India."

These were not idle expressions, for the name of Elphinstone was a powerful aid to his kinsman and successor in the government of Bombay during the fiery ordeal of 1857. Lord Elphinstone dwelt much on this to me in an interview I had with him shortly before his decease, and he pointed to a pile of letters he had received from the

¹ This anecdote was communicated to me by Mr. John Warden.


Marrhatta chiefs of the Deccan when the death of their benefactor became known.

But what was the key to this success? It will be interesting to trace, because it is not merely illustrative of the character and political views of Mr. Elphinstone, but it even has its bearing on the present day. It may be studied in the interesting state paper to which I shall now refer.

His report, which forms a volume, and was printed and circulated as such, gives a detailed account of the provinces comprised in the Peshwa's government, with the different subject-races and their characteristics; it then gives an outline of Marrhatta history, an account of the Peshwa's family and the constitution of the government, and proceeds to pass in review the whole system of administration, revenue and judicial, pursued by the Marrhattas, as a necessary preliminary to Mr. Elphinstone's own propositions. The pervading spirit of this able state paper is one of moderation and caution in its suggestions—a caution springing not merely from his impression of the political difficulties attending this conquest, but from those which are inherent in the attempt to introduce European principles of administration in Eastern nations.

Doubts have occurred to some of the ablest of our administrators how far British rule has been ultimately beneficial to the people subject to it. It has given to India the inestimable blessing of peace, restored order, and checked the rapine that wasted its provinces; but the attempt to administer justice between man and man, to protect life and property, and even to establish fixed principles of revenue administration, have in many cases been attended with such lamentable failures, as to constitute a scandal to our Government. Mr. Elphinstone had constantly before his mind the remarkable exposure of our system in the oldest and most settled of our provinces in the famous Fifth Report of 1812; and nowhere can we find such an admirable comparison between the evils which prevail in our own and in the government of native sovereigns, as in the review from which I am about to quote. It traces vividly and clearly the compensation which the inhabitants enjoyed under their own government before it proceeds to decide on the principles on which our future administration was to be founded.

Starting from the same assumption as Sir Thomas Munro, that there was something in the native system that would bear a comparison with our own, and which was suited to the manners and habits of the people, he proposes to act on the simple principle, that any change introduced should be as slight and gradual as possible.



In pursuance of those views, he proposed to maintain the feudal chiefs in much of their former authority, and even when they are brought more directly under our administration, he suggests that they should retain considerable power and influence. The head of the Sattara family had a certain territory assigned to him, over which he was to exercise a sovereign authority. This arrangement was proposed, not merely for the purpose of giving employment to influential classes, who would not find a place under our administration, but for the conciliation of the Marhattas generally to the new order of things, by maintaining an old family and court. In the provinces that were brought under our direct administration, a simple form of government was established, and as much of the native system as was compatible with our own.

It is time that I should give some extracts from the report. The following refers to the position which the Jageerdars, whose land was not included in the Sattara territory, were to hold under our administration. This class is thus described :—

“The great Sirdars are a more important class; they are not, like the chiefs of a Mahomedan Government, foreigners to the people, nor are they raised by the prince to fall when his support is withdrawn. They are of the same nation and religion with the people, and the descendants of those who have been their leaders since they rose to independence. Their landed possessions also give an extent and a permanence to their influence not usual in the countries we have before subdued.”

In another passage he recommends the following arrangements :—

“The greater Jageerdars, to whom their personal lands are now to be restored, ought, I think, during life to be left in charge of the police, in those villages at least which are near their residence; but they ought to be apprised that they are not to inflict punishment on serious offences, but to send the offender to the Collector. All communications with them should be made by the Collector himself, even when complaints are brought against them, and no judgment should be pronounced on their offences but by the Commissioner. The lower order ought perhaps to be put in charge of the police of their villages for the sake of efficiency, though it is not otherwise necessary. In all these cases, except the southern Jageerdars, the regular police ought to be allowed a concurrent jurisdiction in the lands of all Jageerdars. The offences of the lower order of Jageerdars may be tried by the Collector, but not without previous reference to the Commissioner. The same rule ought, I conceive, to apply to all serious complaints against people of rank; mere trifling complaints and civil suits ought

to be carried on by Punchayets, or by the proper European officers ; but in all these cases the forms of civility usual among men of rank ought to be substituted for the summons and orders of Court usual in settled countries. Everything in this country is provisional, and may be altered when found inconvenient ; but I would, if possible, maintain most of these proposed indulgences during the life of the present generation. Afterwards, all that produce real inequality may be removed, but inequality of forms must be maintained as long as we wish to preserve inequality of ranks, unless the natives should become sufficiently enlightened to view these matters as we do in England. At present a violent change would be felt as oppressive by the upper classes, and disapproved as unusual even by the lower."

The proposal to maintain a privileged class is so opposed to received principles of judicial administration that I may briefly refer to its subsequent history. To have separate Courts for the adjudication of questions where men of rank are concerned is revolting to English notions, but nothing can be more true than the position of Mr. Elphinstone, that equality of all classes before the law has shocked natives as much perhaps as any part of our system of government. Of this, if necessary, abundant evidence could be adduced. How strongly he felt on this subject will appear from the extract which follows. The letter from which I quote was addressed to Metcalfe, then one of the Secretaries to the Supreme Government, and reports specially on the Putwurdun family. The language is prophetic :—

"I am induced to enter so fully into these subjects by my sense of the importance of preserving the privileges of chiefs whose friendship we have acknowledged, as well as to show how much is gained by attachment to our Government, and for the general advantage of having some portion of the old nobility flourishing and contented. I likewise believe that in addition to the real difficulties of avoiding disputes with chiefs of this description, there arises, when their former situation and the nature of their claims come to be a little known, a disposition to regard them as useless encumbrances on the revenue, and obstructions to the course of the regulations, and to consider it as desirable that their lands should be resumed. From such a disposition, and even from the lapse of time, the letter of the present engagements may be remembered when the manner in which it was proposed to enforce them is forgotten ; to guard against which, I would venture to suggest that any explanations which the most noble the Governor-General may think necessary for preserving the spirit of the agreements should be communicated, as permanent rules, for the guidance of the Government under which the chiefs are severally to be placed, and that this prin-

ciple should be extended to the whole of the Jagheerdars who are left in possession of their lands."

Mr. Elphinstone's subsequent position as Governor of Bombay enabled him to give effect to his views. So long as the territory was administered by officers with large discretionary authority, it was easy to maintain the exceptional position of these feudatories; but alarm was early taken on their part, lest they should be subjected to the jurisdiction of the much dreaded Adawluts, and in 1822, Mr. Elphinstone, on a visit to the Deccan, was besieged by their remonstrances against the establishment of some judicial officers in that country, a step which they thought betokened the final establishment of English courts of law. They contended that to make them subject to such a judicature would be in violation of the pledges conveyed in his proclamation on the fall of the Peshwa's government, by which all the privileges enjoyed under the Marhatta government were guaranteed. To make them over to the Adawluts would, they contended, involve them in hopeless ruin. These remonstrances had their weight, and a special officer was appointed as agent for the sirdars, with an appeal only to the Governor in Council, and one of the last acts of Mr. Elphinstone's Government was to provide for this peculiar system in the regulation which brought the Peshwa's territory more directly under the system of administration that prevailed in the other provinces. These chiefs are then classed according to their rank and the estimation in which they were held under the former Government, and exempted from the immediate jurisdiction of the civil courts; an appeal being allowed from the agent who adjudicated on such questions, to the Governor in Council, in regard to those of the highest rank, and to the Sudder Dewanee as regards inferior chiefs. The system thus established had the advantage of the support of Mr. Elphinstone's successor and fellow-labourer, Sir J. Malcolm, who shared in those views, and it acquired a stability that it could not have otherwise attained.


Malcolm's testimony to the popularity of this system with all classes is very striking. It is contained in a minute of the 30th of November, 1830, in which he enters largely into the policy of maintaining these privileged classes. He contends "that there is nothing in the new code that creates inconvenience or embarrassment from the existence or extension of the privileged classes of the Deccan. I can confidently state that during my whole experience in India, I have known no institution so prized by those who enjoy its exemptions, or more gratifying to the whole people among whom it

was established. It is recognised by the lowest orders as a concession in forms to those whom they deem their superiors, and as such is received as a boon by the community, who, from their condition, neither understand nor appreciate those unyielding forms that deny alike advantages of birth and the claims of rank and service." He proceeds to contend that those inequalities belong to all governments, and are not unknown to that of Great Britain, quoting in support of his position the privileges of peers, members of parliament, judges, and clergy.

To those who may be surprised at the establishment of such an anomaly as a different system of jurisdiction for different classes of society, I would only remark that it is not more anomalous than the separate judicature provided for another privileged class, viz., the British residents in India. The existence of such anomalies is, after all, chiefly to be vindicated on the ground of the low reputation of the courts of local judicature established through British territory. An amusing instance was once given me by Mr. Elphinstone, illustrative of the dread with which the Adawluts were regarded by natives at the beginning of the century. During the progress of our conquests in the North-West, the inhabitants were observed flying in considerable numbers from the territory we had acquired. "Is Lord Lake coming?" was the eager enquiry. "No!" was the reply, "The Adawlut is coming, which is ten times worse."

To return to our extracts from the Report. The following passage is long, but it will not bear abridgment. It gives his comparison between the Marrhatta administration and our own, and adds some general remarks on the principles of our Government. The recommendation at the close to encourage the use of arms has a peculiar significance at the present time :—

"Judging from the impunity with which crimes might be committed under a system of criminal justice and police such as has been described, we should be led to fancy the Marrhatta country a complete scene of anarchy and violence. No picture, however, could be further from the truth. The Reports of the Collectors do not represent crimes as particularly numerous: Mr. Chaplin, who has the best opportunity of drawing a comparison with our old provinces, thinks them rarer here than there. Murder for revenge, generally arising either from jealousy or disputes about landed property, and as frequently about village rank, is mentioned as the commonest crime amongst the Marrhattas. Arson and cattle stealing, as a means of revenging wrongs or extorting justice, are common in the Carnatic."



Gang robberies and highway robbery are common, but are almost always committed by Bheels and other predatory tribes, who scarcely form a part of society ; and they have never, since I have been in the country, reached to such a pitch as to bear a moment's comparison with the state of Bengal described in the papers laid before Parliament.

"It is of vast importance to ascertain the causes that counteracted the corruption and relaxation of the police, and which kept this country in a state superior to our oldest possessions, amidst all the abuses and oppressions of a Native Government. The principal causes to which the disorders in Bengal have been attributed are the over-population, and the consequent degradation and pusillanimity of the people ; the general revolutions of property, in consequence of our revenue arrangements, which drove the upper classes to disaffection and the lower to desperation ; the want of employment to the numerous classes, whether military or otherwise, who were maintained by the Native Government ; the abolition of the ancient system of police, in which, besides the usual bad effects of a general change, were included the removal of responsibility from the zemindars ; the loss of their natural influence, as an instrument of police ; the loss of the services of the village watchmen, the loss of a hold over that class which is naturally disposed to plunder, and in some cases the necessity to which individuals of it were driven to turn robbers, from the resumption of their allowances ; the separation of the revenue, magisterial, judicial, and military powers, by which all were weakened ; the further weakness of each from the checks imposed on it ; the delays of trials, the difficulties of conviction, the inadequacy of punishment, the trouble and expense of prosecuting and giving evidence ; the restraints imposed by our maxims on the assumption of power by individuals, which, combined with the dread of the Adawlut, discouraged all from exertion in support of the police ; the want of an upper class among the natives, which could take the lead on such occasions ; and, to conclude, the small number of European magistrates who supply the place of the class last mentioned, their want of connection and communication with the natives, and of knowledge of their language and character.

"The Marhatta country presents in many respects a complete contrast to the above picture. The people are few compared to the quantity of arable land ; they are hardy, warlike, and always armed till of late years. •The situation of the lower orders was very comfortable, and that of the upper prosperous. There was abundance of

employment in the domestic establishments and foreign conquests of the nation. The ancient system of police was maintained, all the powers of the State were united in the same hands, and their vigour was not checked by any suspicions on the part of the Government or any scruples of their own. In cases that threatened the peace of society, apprehension was sudden and arbitrary, trial summary, and punishment prompt and severe. The innocent might sometimes suffer, but the guilty could scarcely ever escape. As the magistrates were natives they readily understood the real state of a case submitted to them, and were little retarded by scruples of conscience, so that prosecutors and witnesses had not long to wait. In their lax system, men knew that if they were right in substance they would not be questioned about the form; and perhaps they likewise knew, that if they did not protect themselves, they could not always expect protection from the magistrate, whose business was rather to keep down great disorders than to afford assistance in cases that might be settled without his aid. The mamlutdars were themselves considerable persons, and there were men of property and consideration in every neighbourhood—enamdars, jagheerdars, or old zemindars. These men associated with the ranks above and below, and kept up the chain of society to the prince; by this means the higher orders were kept informed of the situation of the lower, and as there was scarcely any man without a patron, men might be exposed to oppression, but could scarcely suffer from neglect.

“Many of the evils from which this country has hitherto been exempt, are inseparable from the introduction of a foreign government; but perhaps the greater may be avoided by proper precautions. Many of the upper classes must sink into comparative poverty, and many of those who were employed in the court and army must absolutely lose their bread. Both of these misfortunes happened, to a certain extent, in the commencement of Bajee Rao's reign; but as the frame of government was entire, the bad effects of these partial evils were surmounted. Whether we can equally maintain the frame of government is a question that is yet to be examined. The present system of police, as far as relates to the villages, may be easily kept up; but I doubt whether it is enough that the village establishment be maintained, and the whole put under a mamlutdar. The potail's respectability and influence in his village must be kept up by allowing him some latitude, both in the expenditure of the village expenses, and in restraining petty disorders within his village. So far from wishing that it were possible for the European officers to hear all

complaints on such subjects, I think it fortunate that they have no time to investigate them ; and think it desirable that the mamlutdars also should leave them to the potails, and thus preserve a power, on the aid of which we must in all branches of the government greatly depend. The zealous co-operation of the potails is as essential to the collection of the revenue, and to the administration of civil justice, as to the police ; and it ought, therefore, by all means to be secured. Too much care cannot be taken to prevent their duty becoming irksome, and their influence impaired, by bringing their conduct too often under the correction of their superiors. I would lend a ready ear to all complaints against them for oppression, but I would not disturb them for inattention to forms ; and I would leave them at liberty to settle petty complaints in their own way, provided no serious punishment were inflicted on either party. We may weaken the potails afterwards if we find it necessary, and retrench their emoluments ; but our steps should be cautious, for if we once destroy our influence over the potails, or theirs over the people, we can never recover either. Care ought also to be taken of the condition of the village watchman, whose allowance, if not sufficient to support him and to keep him out of temptation to thieve, ought to be increased ; but it ought not to be so high as to make him independent of the community ; and it ought always to be in part derived from contributions, which may compel him to go his rounds among the villagers, as at present.

“If the village police be preserved, the next step is to preserve the efficiency of the mamlutdar. At present all powers are vested in that officer, and as long as the auxiliary horse and sebundies are kept up, he has ample means of preserving order. The only thing requisite at present is, that the mamlutdar should have higher pay, to render him more respectable, and more above temptation, and to induce the better sort of natives to accept the office. When the sebundies are reduced in numbers and the horse discharged, our means of preserving the peace will be greatly weakened, at the same time that the number of enemies to the public tranquillity will be increased : the number of sebundies now in our pay, by giving employment to the idle and needy, contributes, I have no doubt, more than anything else to the remarkable good order which this part of our new conquests has hitherto enjoyed. The mamlutdar will also feel the want of many of the jageerdars and others of the upper class, who used to aid his predecessors with their influence, and even with their troops. The want of that class will be still more felt, as a channel through

which Government could receive the accounts of the districts, and of the conduct of the mamlutdars themselves. The cessation of all prospect of a rise will of itself, in a great measure, destroy the connexion between them and the rulers ; and the natural distance which, I am afraid, must always remain between natives and English gentlemen, will tend to complete the separation. Something may be done by keeping up the simplicity and equality of Marhatta manners, and by imitating the facility of access which was conspicuous among their chiefs. On this also the continuance of the spirit of the people and of our popularity will probably in a great measure depend. Sir Henry Strachey, in his report laid before Parliament, attributes many of the defects in our administration in Bengal to the unmeasurable distance between us and the natives ; and afterwards adds, that there is scarcely a native in his district who would think of sitting down in the presence of an English gentleman. Here, every man above the rank of a hircarrahs sits down before us, and did before the Peshwa ; even a common ryot, if he had to stay any time, would sit down on the ground. This contributes, as far as the mechanical parts of the society can, to keep up the intercourse that ought to subsist between the governors and the governed ; there is, however, a great chance that it will be allowed to die away. The great means of keeping it up is, for gentlemen to receive the natives often, when not on business. It must be owned there is a great difficulty in this. The society of the natives can never be in itself agreeable ; no man can long converse with the generality of them without being provoked with their constant selfishness and design, wearied with their importunities, and disgusted with their flattery. Their own prejudices also exclude them from our society in the hours given up to recreation, and at other times want of leisure is enough to prevent gentlemen receiving them ; but it ought to be remembered, that this intercourse with the natives is as much a point of duty, and contributes as much towards good government, as the details in which we are generally occupied.

“ Much might likewise be done by raising our mamlutdars to a rank which might render it creditable for native gentlemen to associate with them. It must be owned our Government labours under natural disadvantages in this respect, both as to the means of rendering our instruments conspicuous, and of attaching them to our cause. All places of trust and honour must be filled by Europeans. We have no irregular army to afford honourable employment to persons incapable of being admitted to a share of the government, and no court to make

up by honours and empty favour for the absence of the other more solid objects of ambition. As there are no great men in our service, we cannot bestow the higher honours on the lower, on which also the natives set a high value, as the privilege of using a particular kind of umbrella, or of riding in a palanquin, cease to be honours under us, from their being thrown open to all the world. What honours we do confer are lost from our own want of respect for them, and from our want of sufficient discrimination to enable us to suit them, exactly to the person and the occasion, on which circumstances the value of these fanciful distinctions entirely depends.

"To supply the place of these advantages we have nothing left but good pay, personal attentions, and occasional commendations and rewards. The first object may be attained without much additional expense, by enlarging the districts, diminishing the number of officers, and increasing their pay. The pay might also be augmented for length of service, or in reward of particular activity. It might be from 200 to 250 rupees at first, and increase one-sixth for every five years' service; khilauts might also be given as occasional rewards for services; and, above all, lands for life—or even, on rare occasions, for two or three lives, or in perpetuity—ought to be given to old or to meritorious servants. Besides the immediate effect of improving the conduct of the mamlutdars by these liberalities, their political advantages would be considerable, by spreading over the country a number of respectable persons attached to the Government, and capable of explaining its proceedings. If these grants could often be made hereditary, we should also have a source from which hereafter to draw well educated and respectable men to fill our public offices, and should found an order of families exactly of the rank in life which would render them useful to a Government circumstanced like ours. The jagheer lands as they fall in, might be applied to this purpose; and I think it would be good policy to make the rules regarding the resumption, at the death of the present incumbents, much stricter, if they were to be applied to this purpose; since we should gain more of useful popularity by grants of this kind than we should lose by dispossessing the heirs of many of the present jagheerdars. It would be a further stimulus to the mamlutdars, at the same time that it contributed to the efficiency of the system, to put the office of dufterdar with the collector on such a footing as to render it a sufficient object of emulation. For this purpose I would allow it 1,000 rupees a month; which, considered as the very highest salary to which a native could attain, is surely not too much. I have fixed these allowances below what I at first thought it expedient; and in judging of their

amount, the great difference in expense between this territory and the old provinces, must be borne in mind. The pay of the common servants here is more than double what it is in Bengal; but if the proposed allowances should still seem more than the finances can bear, it ought to be recollected that economy, no less than policy, requires liberal pay when there is considerable trust,—a maxim long since confirmed in its application to the natives, by the experience and sagacity of General Munro.

“ Having thus formed a chain from the potal to the Collector, and having provided them with such rewards as circumstances will admit, it is of at least equal importance to take care that they should be punished for neglect. The proposed improvement in the situation of a mamlutdar provides some means for punishing him, by affording him allowances which it would be a serious misfortune to lose, and which would admit of his paying fines, by giving him a character that should make reproof a punishment, and prospects which he would be unwilling to forfeit. Imprisonment, or other punishment, may be added, if his offence were more than neglect. A still stronger responsibility must be imposed on the potal, village watchman, and in villages where the koolkurnee manages, on him also. The practice of levying the value of the property lost on the village, ought not, I think, to be entirely abandoned. I am aware that it has been objected to by the highest authorities, and that it is in reality harsh, and often unjust; but I think it better to regulate than to abandon it. It is a coarse but effectual remedy against the indifference of the neighbourhood to the sufferings of individuals; and if the great secret of police be to engage many people in the prevention and punishment of crimes, it will not, perhaps, be easy to find a measure more advisable. It was adopted by our own early lawgivers, and is not less suited to the state of society in India than it was in England under Alfred. When it is plain that a village could not prevent a robbery, the exaction of the money could, of course, be remitted; but where there is either negligence or connivance, it ought to be levied either whole or in part. A fine would, at all events, be expedient in such a case, and this is a popular and established method of levying it; it keeps a heavy punishment hanging over every village where a robbery is committed, and throws the burthen of proving its innocence upon it; whereas a fine would require proof of actual connivance, and would, after all, be complained of as a hardship; while a levy of the same sum, in lieu of the property lost, would, if less than the value of the property, be felt as an indulgence.

“ It appears an objection to this plan, that it affords the mamlutdar

an opportunity of collecting more than he brings to account ; but in such a case the villagers will, of course, complain, as they always did when the money was taken from them unreasonably ; and this abuse, like many others, must depend for a remedy on the vigilance of the Collector.

" On this, indeed, it will have been long since observed, the whole system must depend ; its object being to provide sufficient powers, and leave it to the principal officer to guard against the abuse of them. That he will always succeed is more than I would promise ; but perfection is not to be looked for, and we have only the choice of taking away from our agents the power to do good, or leaving them, in some degree, the power to do harm. Against this even a system of check and limitation will not always guard ; for a man may be careful not openly to commit irregularities, while he is secretly guilty of every sort of oppression. As long as the chief power in the district is in able hands, the good done by the inferiors in this system will preponderate over the evil ; and if the Collector be deficient, I am afraid that no distribution of powers would make up for his want of capacity, or do more than palliate or conceal the evils to which such a want would give rise.

" The highest rank in the chain under Government should be a Court or an individual vested with a general control of all departments, who should be frequently in motion, and whose business should rather be to superintend the whole system than to administer any part of it, and to see that essentials were attended to rather than that rules were not violated. I would vest the fullest powers over the officers under them in the Collector, and in like manner it would be proper for Government to pay the utmost attention to the principal officer's recommendations, originating in the good or ill conduct of the Collectors. So general a charge, of course, requires great industry and abilities. It is to be hoped such may be obtained ; and if they are not, I despair of supplying their place by any machinery that can possibly be invented.

" I have introduced those remarks under the police, where they first occurred to me ; but it is evident they apply equally to any other branch of the Government. I now return to the police.

" The spirit of the people has been mentioned as of the first importance, and although that may be expected to flag under a foreign rule, and still more under a strong government which protects all its subjects, and leaves no call for the exertion of their courage and energy in their own defence ; yet there are instances in some

parts of our old territories of our subjects retaining their military spirit after they have lost their habits of turbulence, and we may hope to accomplish the same object here. The first step towards its attainment is to remove all obstructions to the use of arms. On our first conquest some restriction was necessary on persons travelling with arms, but that has since been relaxed and ought to be done away. Besides the advantage of arming the people for purposes of police, it would be useful even in cases of war and insurrection, as the bulk of the people, even if disaffected, would be led, for the sake of their property, to employ their arms against our predatory enemies rather than against us. On the same principles, villages should be encouraged to keep up their walls, and perhaps allowed some remission to enable them to repair them."

At a later part of the Report he returns to the same general comparison :—

"But with all these defects the Marhatta country flourished, and the people seem to have been exempt from some of the evils which exist under our own more perfect Government ; there must, therefore, have been some advantages in the system to counterbalance its obvious defects, and most of them appear to me to have originated in one fact, that the Government, although it did little to obtain justice for the people, left them the means of procuring it for themselves. The advantage of this was particularly felt among the lower orders, who were most out of reach of their rulers, and most apt to be neglected under all Governments. By means of the punchayet they were enabled to effect a tolerable dispensation of justice among themselves, and it happens that most of the objections stated to that institution do not apply in this case.

A potail was restrained from exercising oppression both by the fear of the mamlutdar and by the inconvenience of offending the society in which he lived ; and when both parties were disposed to a punchayet, he had no interest in refusing his assistance to assemble one. A punchayet can scarcely be perplexed in the simple causes that arise under its own eyes, nor can it easily give a corrupt decision when all the neighbourhood know the merits of the case. Defendants, witnesses, and members are all within the narrow compass of a village, and where all are kept from earning their daily bread during the discussion, there is not likely to be much needless complaint or affected delay.

"This branch of the native system, therefore, is excellent for the settlement of the disputes of the ryots among themselves, but it is of

no use in protecting them from the oppression of their superiors, and it is evident that the plan of leaving the people to themselves could never have been sufficient for that purpose. But here another principle came into operation ; the whole of the Government revenue being derived from the ryot, it was the obvious interest of Government and its agents to protect him, and to prevent his being exposed to any exactions but their own. The exactions of Government were limited in good times by the conviction that the best way to enrich itself was to spare the ryots, and those of its agents, by the common interest of Government and the ryot, in restraining their depredations. By these principles, while the native Government was good, its ryots were tolerably protected both from the injustice of their neighbours and tyranny of their superiors, and that class is the most numerous, most important, and most deserving portion of the community.

“ It was in the class above this the defects of the judicial system were most felt, and even there they had some advantages. As the great fault of Government was its inertness, people were at least secure from its over activity. A Government officer might be induced by a bribe to harass an individual under colour of justice, but he could not be compelled by the mere filing a petition to involve those under his jurisdiction in all the vexations of a law suit. Even when bribed he could not do much more than harass the individual, for the right to demand a punchayet was a bar to arbitrary decrees, and although he might reject or evade the demand, yet the frequent occurrence of a course so contrary to public opinion could not escape his superiors, if at all inclined to do justice.

“ The inertness of Government was counteracted by various expedients which, though objectionable in themselves, supplied the place of better principles. These were private redress, patronage, and presents. The first occupies the same place in civil justice that private revenge does in criminal among still ruder nations. It is this which is called *tukaza* by the Marhattas, and which has already been mentioned as so important in bringing on a trial. If a man have a demand from his inferior or his equal, he places him under restraint, prevents his leaving his house or eating, and even compels him to sit in the sun until he comes to some accommodation. If the debtor were a superior, the creditors had first recourse to supplications and appeals to the honour and sense of shame of the other party ; he laid himself on his threshold, threw himself in his road, clamoured before his door, or he employed others to do all this for him ; he would even sit down and fast before the debtor's door, during which time the other was com

pelled to fast also ; or he would appeal to the gods and invoke their curses upon the person by whom he was injured. It was a point of honour with the natives not to disturb the authors of these importunities as long as they were just, and some satisfaction was generally procured by means of them. If they were unjust, the party thus harassed naturally concurred with the plaintiff in the wish of a *punchayet*, and thus an object was obtained which might not have been gained from the indolence of the magistrate. Similar means were employed to extort justice from the ruling power ; standing before the residence of the great man, assailing him with clamour, holding up a torch before him by day-light, pouring water without ceasing on the statues of the gods. These extreme measures when resorted to, seldom failed to obtain a hearing, even under Bajee Rao ; and there was the still more powerful expedient both for recovering a debt or for obtaining justice, to get the whole caste, village, or trade, to join in performing the above ceremonies, until the demand of one of its members were satisfied.

“ The next means of obtaining justice was by patronage. If a poor man had a master or landlord, a great neighbour, or any great connexion ; or if he had a relation who had a similar claim on a great man, he could interest him in his favour, and procure his friendly intercession with the debtor ; his application to the friends of the latter ; or, finally, his interest with the public authority to obtain justice for his client. This principle was not so oppressive as it seems at first sight, or as it must have been if it had been partial, for it was so extended, that scarcely any man was without some guardian of his interests. Both sides in a cause were thus brought nearly equal, and the effect of the interference of their patrons was to stimulate the system, which might otherwise have stood still.

“ If this recourse failed, a present, or a promise of a present, to the public authority, or those who had weight with him, would be efficacious :—the fee of one-fourth of all property gained in law suits was in fact a standing bribe to invite the assistance of the magistrate.

“ The number of persons who could grant *punchayets* also expedited business. Besides the *nyaeedaish* and the numerous *mamlutdars* and *jagheerdars*, many people of consequence also hold *punchayets*, under the express or implied authority of the *Peshwa*, and every chief settled the disputes of his own retainers, whether among themselves or with others of the lower and middle classes. A great number of disputes were also settled by private arbitration ; and their proceedings in the event of an appeal were treated by the

Government with the same considerations as those of punchayets held under its own authority.

"Thus some sort of justice was obtained, and it was less impure than might be expected from the sources by which it was supplied, because public opinion and the authority of the magistrates set bounds to tukaza, and the institution of punchayets was a restraint on patronage and bribery.

"The punchayet itself, although in all but village causes it had the defects before ascribed to it, possessed many advantages. Though each might be slow, the number that could sit at a time, even under the superintendence of one person, must have enabled them to decide many causes. The intimate acquaintance of the members with the subject in dispute, and in many cases with the characters of the parties, must have made their decisions frequently correct, and it was an advantage of incalculable value in that mode of trial that the judges being drawn from the body of the people, could act on no principles that were not generally understood; a circumstance which, by preventing uncertainty and obscurity in the law, struck at the very root of litigation. The liability of punchayets to corruption was checked by the circumstance that it did not so frequently happen to one man to be a member as to make venality very profitable, while the parties and the members being of his own class, he was much exposed to detection and loss of character; accordingly the punchayets appear, even after the corrupt reign of Bajee Rao, to have retained in a great degree the confidence of the people, and they do not appear to have been unworthy of their good opinion. All the answers to my queries (except those of the Collector of Ahmednugger) give them a very favourable character; and Mr. Chaplin, in particular, is of opinion, that in most instances their statement of the evidence is succinct and clear, their reasoning on it solid and perspicuous, and their decision in a plurality of cases just and impartial.

"Their grand defect was procrastination, and to counteract it the suitors had recourse to the same remedies as with people in power, importunity, intercession of patrons, and sometimes, no doubt, to promises, fees, and bribes.

"Such are the advantages and disadvantages of the native administration of justice which are to be weighed against those of the plan adopted in our provinces. If we were obliged to take them as they stood under the Native Government, the scale could probably soon be turned; but as it is impossible to invigorate the system and to remove its worst abuses, the question is not so easily decided.

The most striking advantages in our plan appear to be, that the laws are fixed, and that as means are taken to promulgate them they may be known to every one ; that the decisions of the Adawlut, being always on fixed principles, may always be foreseen ; that there is a regular and certain mode of obtaining redress ; that the decision on each separate case is more speedy than in any native Court, and that it is more certain of being enforced ; that justice may be obtained by means of the Adawlut, even from officers of Government or from Government itself ; that the judges are pure, and that their purity and correctness are guarded by appeals ; and that the whole system is steady and uniform, and is not liable to be biassed in its motions by fear or affection, policy or respect.

“ On the other hand, it appears that although the Regulations are promulgated, yet as they are entirely new to the people of India, a long time must pass before they can be generally known, and as both they and the decisions of the Court are founded on European notions, a still longer period must elapse before their principles can be at all understood ; and this obscurity of itself throws all questions relating to property into doubt and produces litigation, which is further promoted by the existence of a class of men rendered necessary by the numerous technical difficulties of our law, whose subsistence depends on the abundance of law suits ; that by these means an accumulation of suits takes place, which renders the speedy decision of the Adawlut of no avail ; that the facility given to appeals takes away from the advantage of its rigour in enforcing decrees, and renders it on the whole, in many cases, more feeble and dilatory than even the punchayet, while in others it acts with a sternness and indifference to rank and circumstances very grating to the feelings of the natives ; that its control over the public officers lessens their power without removing the principle of despotism in the Government or the habits engendered by that principle in the people, and that by weakening one part of the machine without altering the rest, it produces derangement and confusion throughout the whole ; that the remoteness of the Adawlut prevents the access of the common people ; and that if moonsifs with fees, vakeels, &c., be adopted to remedy this evil, they are not exempt from the corruption of the native system, while they occasion in a remarkable degree the litigious spirit peculiar to ours.

“ This view of the Adawlut is taken from the reports drawn up in Bengal, and it is possible that many of the defects described may originate in the revenue system, in the voluminousness of the regula-

tions, or in other extrinsic circumstances—a supposition which appears to be supported by the state of the courts under Bombay, where most of the evils alluded to are said to be still unfelt; but enough will remain to satisfy us, that the chance of attaining or approaching to perfection is as small under our own plan as under that of the natives; that on either plan we must submit to many inconveniences and many abuses, and that no very sudden improvement is to be looked for in the actual state of things. If this be the case, it becomes of the first consequence to cherish whatever there is good in the existing system, and to attempt no innovation that can injure the principle now in force, since it is so uncertain whether we can introduce better in its room.

“I propose, therefore, that the native system should still be preserved, and means taken to remove its abuses and revive its energy—such a course will be more welcome to the natives than any entire change; and if it should fail entirely, it is never too late to introduce the Adawlut.”

The plan of administration proposed was one of the simplest kind; the pottail in the country districts, and the heads of trades in the towns, were invested with authority to summon and refer to punchayets matters which, under the ordinary course of civil administration, would come before the Adawlut. Native judges, with liberal salaries, were appointed in places where this primitive mode of administration would not apply, and appeals were allowed in many cases to the mamlutdar, or native officer, subject in all cases to the general supervision of the Collector of revenue, with whom all powers of criminal and civil administration remained. The details of the proposed plan are given at some length. I subjoin the general remarks with which he concludes this, by far the most interesting, portion of his Report:—

“The plan I have proposed has many obvious and palpable defects, and many more will no doubt appear when its operations are fully observed. It has this advantage, that it leaves unimpaired the institutions, the opinions, and the feelings that have hitherto kept the community together; and that as its fault is meddling too little, it may be gradually remedied by interfering when urgently required. An opposite plan, if it fail, fails entirely; it has destroyed everything that could supply its place, and when it sinks the whole frame of the society sinks with it. This plan has another advantage likewise, that if it does not provide complete instruments for the decision of suits, it keeps clear of the causes that produce litigation. It makes no great changes, either real or apparent, in the laws, and it leads to

no revolution in the state of property. The established practice also, though it be worse than another proposed in its room, will be less grievous to the people, who have accommodated themselves to the present defects, and are scarcely aware of their existence ; while every fault in a new system, and, perhaps, many things that are not faults, would be severely felt for want of this adaptation. I do not, however, mean to say, that our interference with the native plan is odious at present. On the contrary, several of the collectors are of opinion that a summary decision by an European judge is more agreeable to the natives than any other mode of trial. This may be the case at first ; but if the decisions of Europeans should ever be so popular as to occasion the disuse of the native modes of settlement, there would soon be a run on the courts, and justice, however pure, when obtained, would never be got without years of delay.

“ There must, however, in the system now proposed be a considerable sacrifice of form, and even some sacrifice of essential justice ; and it is to be expected that the abuses which will be observed under it will give particular disgust to most of our officers, because they are repugnant to our ways of thinking, and we are apt to forget that there are equal blemishes in every other system, and that those which are the least offensive in our eyes are often most disgusting to the natives. This unsuitableness of the native system to European ideas is, however, a very serious objection to its adoption, and renders it doubtful if we shall be able to maintain it after the officers to whom it is to be entrusted shall have ceased to be selected merely for their fitness.

“ If our own system be unintelligible to the natives, it is at least intelligible to us, and as its characteristic is strict rules and checks to departure from them, it is not easy to go wrong. Moreover, as it possesses no very nice adaptation to the native way of thinking, a little derangement is of no great consequence. But the native plan can seldom be thoroughly understood by any of us ; we may act against its plainest rules from mere ignorance, and we must all be liable to strike at its vital principles when we think we are only removing its defects. Nor is it necessary that the legislature should fall into this error to produce the most fatal effects. The error of an inferior executive officer is sufficient to overthrow the system. The Commissioner perceives the numerous irregularities, abuses, and corruptions in village punchayets, which may be avoided by a few simple rules, and the complete insight and effectual superintendence that would be gained by a mere report of the potail's proceedings ; he makes his regulations, directs a register to be drawn up, punishes the neglect of his orders regarding it, and from that moment

there is an end of village punchayets, until potails shall be found who will undertake those troublesome and unknown forms from mere public spirit, with the chance of punishment and censure for unintentional failure. Not less effectual would be the decision of an inexperienced assistant, acting with that confidence which experience alone confers ; he fines some punchayets for exceeding their powers, and imprisons some potails for confounding their judicial with their fiscal functions, and the effect of his decision is as complete within his district, as if a law had been enacted prohibiting all interference in settling disputes, except by the officers of Government.

“To avert these dangers, the best plan is to keep this territory for a considerable time under a separate commissioner, on whose vigilance we must depend for correcting mistakes such as have been described.”

I wish I could add to these copious extracts the concluding remarks on the general disposition of different classes of society to our Government, and the probable dangers to which it is exposed. They are too long to quote, and refer chiefly to sources of disaffection which belonged to that period, and have been mitigated or removed by the lapse of time, and the stability which our Government has acquired. After pointing out how slightly we could count on the favourable disposition of the great body of the people, and how much we have to apprehend from the jealousy and enmity of the officials and feudatories of the late Government, he passes in review the motives which he thought would deter the latter from hazarding their possessions by engaging in any attempt to revive a Marhatta government ; and then describes forcibly the materials for mischief which exist in a country of great natural strength, from the hordes of disbanded soldiers and plundering chiefs, who were checked “*by the greatness of our real power, and the greater force of our reputation.*” Such dangers he thought could only become formidable in the event of a foreign war, which would cause the withdrawal of troops from the Deccan, or by a prolonged struggle such as that which had lately been brought to a close ; but a “timely consciousness of the danger” would, he thought, be sufficient to provide against it. Against another danger of far more tremendous import he adds a few words of emphatic warning, and they must be given in his own forcible language :—

“I have left out of the account the dangers to which we should be exposed by any attempt to interfere with the religious prejudices of the natives. These are so obvious that we may hope they will never be braved. The numbers and physical force of the natives are

evidently incalculably greater than ours. Our strength consists in the want of energy and the disunion of our enemies. There is but one talisman, that while it animated and united them all would leave us without a single adherent : this talisman is the name of religion, a power so odious that it is astonishing our enemies have not more frequently and systematically employed it against us. I do not point out the danger now from any apprehension that Government will ever attempt to convert the natives, but to impress upon it the consequences that would result from any suspicion that it was disposed to encourage such a project. While we enjoy the confidence of the natives our boldest innovations are safe, but that once lost, our most cautious measures would involve us in danger. It would not then be necessary that we should go so far even as we do now ; the most indifferent action would suffice to excite that fanatical spirit, the springs of which are as obscure as its effects are tremendous."

The settlement of the Marhatta territory may be said to have introduced a new era in the administration of conquered provinces. Henceforward the aim of the Government has been to avoid the errors of the more complicated system prevailing in the older settled provinces. A more simple form of administration with less disturbance of native institutions, a more liberal employment of natives, larger powers given British officers, combined with a more careful selection of them, have been the principles on which we have generally acted in our subsequent accessions of territory. When we have departed from the principles which guided Mr. Elphinstone, and this we have repeatedly done, in our dealings with the large landholders and jageerdars, it has only been to render the more signal and striking the return to the rules of conduct which rendered this settlement so successful.

Many of the proposals were avowedly provisional, and the measures adopted fell after a time more or less into disuse. Those parts of the native institutions which derived their strength from the weakness of the former Government, as the punchayets for instance, were ultimately superseded by the authority of British officers or native judges acting under them. Intricate cases, however, involving the laws of caste and inheritance, continued still to be referred to punchayets. As a transition measure the success was complete. The comment of the most intelligent and most observing of Indian travellers, Bishop Heber, on its success after six years of trial is very interesting, and with this extract I shall close this chapter in my narrative.

"This simplicity of administration seems well suited to the"

circumstances of the country and the people ; and two other very great, though incidental, good effects arise from it, inasmuch as, first, there is a greater number of subordinate, but respectable and profitable, situations open to the natives than can be the case under the system followed in Bengal ; and, secondly, the abuses which seem insuperable from the regular Adawlut courts of justice have not been introduced here, but offences are tried and questions of property decided in the first instance by native punchayets or juries assembled in the villages and under the authority of the potail or hereditary village chief, or in grave and more difficult cases, by native pundits, stationed, with handsome salaries, at Poona and other great towns, whose decisions may be confirmed or revised by the Chief Commissioner. The advantages of this institution seem great ; it is true indeed that many complaints are made of the listlessness, negligence, and delays of the native jurors or arbitrators (for the punchayet system resembles the latter of these characters rather than the former), but still the delay is apparently less than occurs under the Adawlut in our old provinces, while the reputation of the Court, so far as its integrity goes, is far better than that of the others. Eventually, too, these institutions, thus preserved and strengthened, may be of the greatest possible advantage to the country, by increasing public spirit, creating public opinion, and paving the way to the obtainment and profitable use of further political privileges."

CHAPTER V.

BOMBAY.

1819—1827.

In the preceding review of the settlement of the newly conquered province I have in some measure anticipated events in Mr. Elphinstone's career. The report on the settlement was in fact not laid before the Government until shortly before his appointment to the government of Bombay, and a very important part of his duties in this new position was to carry out the plans here unfolded and modify them from time to time. The circumstances connected with his selection are given in Gleig's "Life of Munro." Mr. Canning, then President of the Board of Control, recommended the appointment of one of those public servants who had distinguished themselves during

the late events as a departure from usage. "The more general practice of the Court," he said "is to look for their Governors rather among persons of eminence in this country, than among the servants of the Company." It will scarcely admit of dispute that the practice here referred to arose from the influence of the Ministers of the Crown rather than from the leanings of the East India Directors to men of eminence, and a full share of the credit of departing from it in this case belongs to Mr. Canning himself. He proceeds to remark, very justly, "The extraordinary zeal and ability which have been displayed by so many of the Company's servants, both civil and military, in the late brilliant and complicated war, and the peculiar situation in which the results of that war have placed the affairs of your Presidency at Bombay, appear to me to constitute a case in which a deviation from the general practice in favour of your own service might be at once becoming and expedient." In pursuance of these views he recommended the names of Malcolm, Munro, and Elphinstone to the Directors, and the latter, though by many years junior to the rest, was unanimously selected to this distinguished post.

The choice was a fortunate one on the special grounds applicable to Bombay given by Canning, and we need not attach any weight to the reason assigned at the time for the preference shown to Mr. Elphinstone, that he was a civilian. Munro was better known as a civilian than as a soldier. Indeed each of these distinguished men were types of the great characteristic of both the military and civil services of India, their versatility, and the aptitude of their members for both peace and war.

The period during which Mr. Elphinstone held the government was one of profound peace in Western India, unaffected by the siege of Bhurtpoor in the North and the Burmese war in the East. They were therefore years of progress and prosperity, though not of course affording the same opportunities as in time of war of displaying the rare qualities with which he was endowed. It is remarkable, however, that the reputation which Mr. Elphinstone left behind him at Bombay, though not inferior in the estimation of those who knew him best, as that of the ablest of our Indian administrators, should have been acquired at Bombay in the more humble labours of every-day civil administration.

In preparing this memoir I have conversed with many who served under him at this time, and the theme of all is the same, viz., his character. There was earnestness of mind, amounting to enthusiasm, which excited a corresponding enthusiasm in those who knew him,

and which laboured with the same energy in the less obtrusive duties of his new position as in the most trying crisis of his early career. Many have dwelt on his labours in reducing to a system the laws and regulations of his Presidency, or in furthering the cause of native education. I think it would detract from, rather than add to, his reputation, if I were to endeavour to detail all the labours in which he was engaged. Perhaps the most striking tribute to his fame is that he left no brilliant legacy behind. His influence was felt in the tone which he gave to the public service; and the natives of Western India, who saw and appreciated the labours of one whose whole time was devoted to their service, erected the most striking memorial to his worth when he left their shores.

Without attempting, therefore, to detail his administrative labours, I shall point out those only which were of prominent importance, and shall at the same time endeavour to give, as far as the means of so doing are open to me, the general views he entertained on some important points of Indian administration. Some were called forth, like those already quoted from his report on the newly-conquered territory, during his official service. Others were given at different times after his return to England, and express more carefully than dispatches written under the pressure of political exigencies, the opinions he held on some vital questions of Indian policy. This arrangement will I think be more for the convenience of the reader than if I had given each of those papers or letters at its respective date.

Before entering upon matters of administration, let us here insert some personal sketches referring to this period of Mr. Elphinstone's career which have been communicated to me. The first is by Lieutenant-General Briggs, who served under him during the crisis of Marhatta affairs, and was subsequently employed in the settlement of the new territory.

"His manners were always affable and apparently free from restraint, but he possessed the greatest prudence in matters of business; although fond of relating anecdotes, and occasionally witty in his conversation, he never made use of a light expression; he was extremely cautious of repeating anything detracting from another's character; slow to suspect, though penetrating in discovering the good and bad qualities of those he came in contact with. He made a point of never speaking on business with any one whom it did not concern, while, to those with whom he transacted it, he gave his whole confidence where he thought it deserving. He was equally active in body

pelled to fast also ; or he would appeal to the gods and invoke their curses upon the person by whom he was injured. It was a point of honour with the natives not to disturb the authors of these importunities as long as they were just, and some satisfaction was generally procured by means of them. If they were unjust, the party thus harassed naturally concurred with the plaintiff in the wish of a *punchayet*, and thus an object was obtained which might not have been gained from the indolence of the magistrate. Similar means were employed to extort justice from the ruling power ; standing before the residence of the great man, assailing him with clamour, holding up a torch before him by day-light, pouring water without ceasing on the statues of the gods. These extreme measures when resorted to, seldom failed to obtain a hearing, even under Bajee Rao ; and there was the still more powerful expedient both for recovering a debt or for obtaining justice, to get the whole caste, village, or trade, to join in performing the above ceremonies, until the demand of one of its members were satisfied.

“The next means of obtaining justice was by patronage. If a poor man had a master or landlord, a great neighbour, or any great connexion ; or if he had a relation who had a similar claim on a great man, he could interest him in his favour, and procure his friendly intercession with the debtor ; his application to the friends of the latter ; or, finally, his interest with the public authority to obtain justice for his client. This principle was not so oppressive as it seems at first sight, or as it must have been if it had been partial, for it was so extended, that scarcely any man was without some guardian of his interests. Both sides in a cause were thus brought nearly equal, and the effect of the interference of their patrons was to stimulate the system, which might otherwise have stood still.

“If this recourse failed, a present, or a promise of a present, to the public authority, or those who had weight with him, would be efficacious :—the fee of one-fourth of all property gained in law suits was in fact a standing bribe to invite the assistance of the magistrate.

“The number of persons who could grant *punchayets* also expedited business. Besides the *nyaecdaish* and the numerous *mamlutdars* and *jagheerdars*, many people of consequence also hold *punchayets*, under the express or implied authority of the *Peshwa*, and every chief settled the disputes of his own retainers, whether among themselves or with others of the lower and middle classes. A great number of disputes were also settled by private arbitration ; and their proceedings in the event of an appeal were treated by the

every month in a *separate bag*, and an account kept of each regiment, to be balanced monthly. Inventories were taken of all furniture, china ware, plate, &c.; deficiencies were made good, and it was unnecessary disposed of—the whole of which was conducted under the immediate orders of the Captain Commandant, the Major and, without occupying more than half-an-hour daily of Mr. Elphinstone's valuable time for about a week, and all done so quietly, that none of the inmates but the parties concerned knew anything about it.

"As an instance of his great kindness to others, and attention to the most minute points in times of trouble and turmoil, I cannot help stating, that immediately after the battle of Khirkee, he sought out my family, which had found refuge in a cow-shed; he procured a table and writing materials, and then and there wrote his dispatches. A hasty meal of tea and bread and butter sufficed him after all his labours of the day, and by daylight he started with the troops in pursuit of the enemy. The first moment of leisure he caused a list of articles of supplies to be made out, which, together with a tent for my family, he purchased and sent to them. It was thus in the midst of business Mr. Elphinstone forgot nothing; and without attempting to do more than he was equal to himself, he always contrived to find the right person to do in the best possible manner whatever was necessary to be performed. He was an active sportsman, and it was not his fault, but that of his horse, if he did not succeed in getting the first spear at a hog. He had an innate pride of not being excelled by any one in manly habits.¹ It happened while he was Governor at Bombay, and on a visit to Poona on business, an old friend arrived from a long journey, in which owing to his palankeen-bearers failing, he was compelled to adopt the unusual habit (to Europeans) of travelling several hundred miles on a camel. Mr. Elphinstone questioned him closely as to the mode of management of this uncouth animal, its paces, and the sensation. He was assured that nothing was easier than its management, that its pace was by no means unpleasant, and that he came at the rate of forty miles a day and upwards without as much

¹ This desire to excel in everything that was manly which we have referred to, was carried at this period of his life to a degree that bordered on eccentricity. In his horror of luxury, he made exertions to dispense with what he thought superfluous articles of clothing, and this practice must have contributed to injure his otherwise strong constitution. For several months he attempted to dispense with the luxury of a bed. The relation to whom he mentioned this asked him, with simplicity, the reason for such conduct. "Because I was a fool!" was the immediate reply.

fatigue as if he had been on horseback. Mr. Elphinstone was not then aware that in Rajpootana the European officers used camels in preference to horses in making long marches, and they were used in cantonments to pay morning visits. Some days after this, it was discovered that Mr. Elphinstone had, during the very night after the above conversation with his friend, ordered a riding camel to be brought to his tent, and, accompanied by another camel hurcarah, mounted and rode several miles during moonlight to satisfy himself of the sensation of riding on a camel. During a journey into the Southern Marhatta country sometime afterwards, he went to visit the celebrated Falls of the Gutpusla, at Gokank. The river was full, and the fall of sixty feet formed an arch of several feet from the almost perpendicular rock over which the cataract rushes. He was standing with his Staff, about half-way down the precipice, opposite a narrow ledge, which projected from one side to the other. While admiring the scene, one of the party observed that a certain officer (mentioning his name) had walked across this narrow, slippery, and dangerous ledge. Mr. Elphinstone immediately turned round to the speaker, and said, 'Are you sure?' and on the fact being confirmed, Mr. Elphinstone said, 'Well, then, let you and I try if we cannot do so also;' and he instantly led the way, all the Staff being necessarily obliged to follow his example.

"Mr. Elphinstone's character closely resembles that of the late Duke of Wellington. He was a fearless soldier and a profound and prudent statesman, not less remarkable for his moral as well as his physical courage. He was disinterested in every action of his life, a sincere friend, an enemy to no one (for he was the most forgiving of men), and in the performance of his duty he forgot all personal injuries and dealt out impartial justice. Having left England at the early age of seventeen, he had no opportunity of finishing his education as a classical scholar. He had, however, imbibed sufficient of the rudiments of both Greek and Latin, which enabled him to find leisure for prosecuting his studies in India, so that he was able before he left it to read both with facility, and he also acquired a thorough acquaintance with the French and Italian languages before he left the country. He had a just appreciation of the character of the natives of India, making every allowance for their national habits, religion, and want of knowledge acquired by European education. On my observing in the corner of his tent one day a pile of printed Marhatta books, I asked him what they were meant for. 'To educate the natives,' said he, 'but it is our high road back to

Europe.' 'Then,' I replied, 'I wonder you, as Governor of Bombay, have set it on foot.' He answered coolly, 'We are bound under all circumstances to do our duty to them.' Mr. Elphinstone's modesty was such that he not only never spoke of an event in which he had acted a conspicuous part, but if such a circumstance was mentioned before him, he turned the conversation, or, if he could, he walked away. He was perfectly indifferent to public applause. He was always so overpowered when his health was proposed at public entertainments, that he, who was in private conversation so eloquent, amusing, and instructive, became embarrassed, and had great difficulty in replying.

"On speaking with him one day in England on the subject of his entering public life, he said, 'Had I health, I might still perhaps be useful in India, but if I cannot stand the heat of Italy, I am quite unfit for Calcutta.' I then mentioned the Board of Control. He said, 'I feel I am quite unfit for debate in Parliament, to reply on the spur of the moment to any attack which an opposition member might choose to make upon measures for which I was responsible.'

"It may truly be said of him that he was a man without a weak point; though this very repugnance to public life, and his neglect of his private fortune when in office in India, have been imputed to him as such. He was too modest to court public fame, and too proud, too, to risk his reputation by failure. He was too honourable to incur debts which he could not pay, and too proud to live at the expense of others. Still he was hospitable and generous to the extent of his means, and died lamented and admired by all who knew him. And I never heard of his having made an enemy through life."

I give at this place, because it refers to the same period, the conclusion of Sir Robert Houston's "Reminiscences," from which I have already quoted :—

"He was always a most zealous servant in every position he filled, but too glad when he could to put aside his dignity. During my visit to him at Bombay, he frequently sallied out at night *incog.* with me to roam about for amusement; yet no man filled his high office more becomingly, or could be more looked up to by all under him. I always considered him self-educated, for he left school at sixteen, or rather before, and you know he was a good classicist and must have read much, for his fund of information was boundless. He possessed great personal activity, and underwent much fatigue while Commissioner in the Deccan. He had but one pace on horseback, that was a hard gallop. On one occasion he had a bad fall, and broke his collar bone; he had left all his escort behind him but one man, who gave him his turban

which he used as a bandage, and rode many miles after as if nothing had happened. "But I must stop, or you will think there is no end to an old man's gossip."

The following reminiscence was communicated to me by Mr. John Warden :—

"During the eight years Mr. Elphinstone was Governor of Bombay he visited each part of the Presidency twice. I was with him as Under-Secretary during his last tour through the Peshwa's country. His habits, whether in the Presidency or in the Mofussil, were the same. He rose at day-break, and, mounting one of a large stud he always had, rode for an hour and a-half, principally at a hand gallop. He had a public breakfast every morning, and never left the room as long as one man desirous of speaking to him remained, but after that he was invisible to all but his suite. I have been associated in the same relation with Sir John Malcolm, Lord Clare, Sir Robert Grant, and many good men of business, but Mr. Elphinstone was the best. His industry was such that he took as much pains about a matter of 5 rupees as with the draft of a treaty. He had the pen of a ready writer; his minutes being written off quickly and without erasure. After luncheon he took a short *siesta*, and in the afternoon read Greek or Latin, and I have been called to him sometimes as late as six o'clock in the evening, and remained till there was only time left to stroll for half-an-hour before an eight o'clock dinner; at ten he rose from the table, and, reading for half-an-hour in his own room, went to bed. Although surrounded by young men, he never suffered the slightest indecorum, and if anyone after dinner indulged in a *double entendre*, he would not say anything, but pushing back his chair, broke up the party. We always had in the camp a *Shikaree*, whose business it was to enquire for hog, and whenever he brought in intelligence of game, Mr. Elphinstone would proclaim a holyday, and go hunting for one or perhaps two days, and he was fond of a chase at any time. In the midst of many striking excellencies, that which placed him far above all the great men I have heard of, was his forgetfulness of self and thoughtfulness for others."

Mr. Warden gives some instances of this. On one occasion he made over his official residence at Poona to the Commander-in-Chief, whose wife was delicate, and another house which was at his command, to the Archdeacon, for a similar reason, while he refused a similar offer of assistance from Mr. Warden himself; and though suffering constantly from lumbago, he slept for weeks in a tent. Mr. Warden adds "compare this with the engrossing selfishness of most great men on service." He then proceeds: "another instance was of a different

character, and told me last year at Paris, by Colonel Morse Cooper. As a young dragoon he was one of Mr. Elphinstone's guests in one of his tours, and was much chagrined that he could not 'take a spear' at hog hunting. Mr. Elphinstone mounted him on one of his best horses, which laid the young soldier alongside the hog, and he delivered his spear. Mr. Elphinstone rode up to him, and said you have won your spurs nobly, and you must allow me to present you with the horse on which you have performed the feat."

The admirable description of Mr. Elphinstone by Bishop Heber will be familiar to most readers, but any memoir would be incomplete without it :—

"We could not leave Bombay without regret. There were some persons whom we were sincerely pained to part with there. I had found old acquaintances in Sir Edward West and Sir Charles Chambers, and an old and valuable friend (as well as a sincerely attached and cordial one) in Archdeacon Barnes. Above all, however, I had enjoyed in the unremitting kindness, the splendid hospitality, and agreeable conversation of Mr. Elphinstone, the greatest pleasure of the kind which I have ever enjoyed, either in India or Europe.

"Mr. Elphinstone is, in every respect, an extraordinary man, possessing great activity of body and mind, remarkable talent for, and application to, public business, a love of literature, and a degree of almost universal information, such as I have met with in no other person similarly situated, and manners and conversation of the most amiable and interesting character. While he has seen more of India and the adjoining countries than any man now living, and has been engaged in active political, and sometimes military duties since the age of eighteen, he has found time not only to cultivate the languages of Hindostan and Persia, but to preserve and extend his acquaintance with the Greek and Latin classics, with the French and Italian, with all the elder and more distinguished English writers, and with the current and popular history of the day, both in poetry, history, politics, and political economy. With these remarkable accomplishments, and notwithstanding a temperance amounting to rigid abstinence, he is fond of society, and it is a common subject of surprise with his friends, in what hours of the day or night he finds time for the acquisition of knowledge.

"His policy, so far as India is concerned, appeared to me peculiarly wise and liberal, and he is evidently attached to, and thinks well of, the country and its inhabitants. His public measures, in their general tendency, evince a steady wish to improve their present condition.

No government in India pays so much attention to schools and public institutions for education. In none are the taxes lighter, and in the administration of justice to the natives in their own languages, in the establishment of punchayets, in the degree in which he employs the natives in official situations, and the countenance and familiarity which he extends to all the natives of rank who approach him, he seems to have reduced to practice, almost all the reforms which had struck me as most required in the system of government pursued in those provinces of our Eastern Empire which I had previously visited. His popularity (though to such a feeling there may be individual exceptions) appears little less remarkable than his talents and acquirements, and I was struck by the remark I once heard, that 'all other public men had their enemies and their friends, their admirers and their aspersors, but that of Mr. Elphinstone everybody spoke highly.' Of his munificence, for his liberality amounts to this, I had heard much, and knew some instances myself.

"With regard to the free press, I was curious to know the motives or apprehensions which induced Mr. Elphinstone to be so decidedly opposed to it in this country. In discussing the topic he was always open and candid, acknowledged that the dangers ascribed to a free press in India had been exaggerated, but spoke of the exceeding inconvenience, and even danger which arose from the disunion and dissension which political discussion produced among the European officers at the different stations, the embarrassment occasioned to Government by the exposure and canvas of all their measures by the *Lentuli* and *Gracchi* of a newspaper, and his preference of decided and vigorous to half measures, where any restrictive measures at all were necessary. I confess that his opinion and experience are the strongest presumptions which I have yet met with in favour of the censorship.

"A charge has been brought against Mr. Elphinstone by the indiscreet zeal of an amiable, but not well-judging man—the 'field officer of cavalry,' who published his *Indian travels*, that 'he is devoid of religion, and blinded to all spiritual truth.' I can only say that I saw no reason to think so. On the contrary, after this character which I had read of him, I was most agreeably surprised to find that his conduct and conversation, so far as I could learn, had always been moral and decorous, that he was regular in his attendance on public worship, and not only well informed on religious topics, but well pleased and forward to discuss them; that his views appeared to me, on all essential subjects, doctrinally correct, and his feelings serious and reverential; and that he was not only inclined to do, but actually on 12 more for the encouragement of Christianity and the suppression

or diminution of suttees, than any other Indian governor has ventured on. That he may have differed in some respects from the peculiar views of the author in question, I can easily believe, though he could hardly know himself in what this difference consisted, since I am assured that he had taken his opinion at second hand, and not from anything which Mr. Elphinstone had either said or done. But I have been unable to refrain from giving this slight and imperfect account of the character of Mr. Elphinstone as it appeared to me, since I should be sorry to have it thought that one of the ablest and most amiable men I ever met with, were either a profligate or an unbeliever."

In a letter to Mr. Wilmot Horton, he describes Mr. Elphinstone as "one of the ablest and most gentlemanly men I have ever known, and possessing a degree of popularity and personal influence, as well as an intimate knowledge of every person and thing within the Government, which I never saw before, except, perhaps, in the Duke of Richelieu, at Odessa."

In a letter dated June 7th, 1825, the Bishop describes the natives of India as "most eager after knowledge and improvement, with a remarkable talent for the sciences of geometry, astronomy, &c., as well as for the arts of painting and sculpture. In all these points they have had great difficulties to struggle with, from the want of models, instruments, and elementary instruction, the indisposition or rather the horror entertained till lately by many among their European masters for giving them instruction of any kind, and now from the real difficulty which exists of translating works of science into languages which have no corresponding terms. More has been done, and more successfully, to obviate these evils in the Presidency of Bombay than in any part of India which I have yet visited, through the wise and liberal policy of Mr. Elphinstone; to whom this side of the Peninsula is also indebted for some very important and efficient improvements in the administration of justice, and who, both in amiable temper and manners, extensive and various information, acute good sense, energy, and application to business, is one of the most extraordinary men, as he is quite the most popular Governor, that I have fallen in with."

The decided opinion expressed to Bishop Heber favourable to restrictions on the Indian press only imperfectly represents the danger Mr. Elphinstone apprehended from its complete freedom. In a letter written to the Secretary of the India Board after his return to England, from which I shall have again occasion to quote, he expresses himself in the following strong terms:—

"The effect of a free press on the Europeans, and through the

officers on the native army, has often been set forth, particularly in Sir T. Munro's minute of April 12th, 1822. Its relation to the army has since been illustrated by the share taken by the newspapers in the late discussions relating to military allowances; but the rapid advance made by the natives has now brought forward a new consideration as important as any yet contemplated. This is the effect of the European press on the native press. Many natives already read English, and, as the number increases, the English newspapers will write for native readers. This will lead them to comment on native newspapers, and to assert the right of that branch of the press to freedom, if attempts shall have been made to keep it under restrictions. This will create discontent, and lead to disputes with native editors, and will end in the abandonment of the control over them also. So that it may be taken for granted, that if the European press be free, the native one cannot long be otherwise. If all be free, we shall be in a predicament such as no state has yet experienced. In other countries the use of the press has gradually extended along with the improvements of the government and the intelligence of the people; but we shall have to contend at once with the most refined theories of Europe and with the prejudices and fanaticism of Asia, both rendered doubly formidable by the imperfect education of those to whom every appeal will be addressed. Is it possible that a foreign government, avowedly maintained by the sword, can long keep its ground in such circumstances?"

It may be added that when the restrictions on the Indian press were removed, Mr. Elphinstone was strongly opposed to any attempt to retrace our steps, and while even retaining his fears of the danger to be apprehended, he was as averse to any half measure of restraint as he was in 1825. During the crisis of 1857, he wrote to me as follows:—

"I am afraid it is too late to put any effectual restraint on the press in India. *The press* is a great system of circulation, of which the types and printing machines form only a part. When the art is once understood, a very small quantity of printing, even in a language not more generally understood than English in India, is enough to furnish materials for a great quantity of manuscript, as well as of declamation, conversation, and dissemination of rumours and alarms. This of itself would be more than a match for the Indian Government, and it would have an irresistible auxiliary in the press and public opinion of this country."

The short extract which I have given from the letter of Bishop Heber, referring to Mr. Elphinstone's exertions in promoting the

instruction of the natives, form a fitting introduction to a brief notice of his labours in this cause. They are the struggles of a pioneer who has to contend with and clear away prejudices which are no longer felt, and some of his appeals to first principles would be considered superfluous in the present day.

A society for the promotion of education existed at Bombay previous to Mr. Elphinstone's accession to the government; but attention to that of the natives formed only a branch and an inferior branch of its objects. The first establishment of a society which should have the education of the natives only in view, dates from a meeting held in August 1820, over which Mr. Elphinstone presided. It is interesting to observe that the primary aim of this infant institution was instruction in the vernacular language. Their resolutions provided for the supply of suitable books of instruction in both English and native languages, support to existing native schools, and the establishment of new ones; and it was resolved, lastly, "that the schools be primarily for the conveyance of knowledge in the language of the country." Though many influential natives joined with the leading public servants of the Presidency and the archdeacon and clergy of Bombay in this attempt, the society languished for want of active support until it received a new impulse from the exertions of Mr. Elphinstone, who procured the assent of the Government to a grant of money for the printing department, leaving the society's funds disposable for the instruction of native teachers.

Encouraged by the disposition shown by the Governor, the society thought the time had arrived to make an especial appeal for increased aid, and laid their views fully before the Government in September, 1823. Mr. Elphinstone's general views were publicly recorded at this period in the minute from which I have given some full extracts, but his power to give effect to them was limited by the small amount of funds at the disposal of the local government at this period, and the society continued its humble efforts until Mr. Elphinstone retired from the government in 1827, when the natives of that Presidency, who had watched with admiration the unceasing efforts of their benefactor in this as in other objects of improvement, joined in that touching tribute to his public and private character out of which the Elphinstone College took its rise.

I give some full extracts from the minute referred to in the foregoing summary. The paper deals with the subject in much detail, and I only give those passages which illustrate his general views.

"I have attended, as far as was in my power, since I have been in Bombay, to the means of promoting education among the natives.

and from all that I have observed, and learned by correspondence, I am perfectly convinced that without great assistance from Government no progress can be made in that important undertaking. A great deal appears to have been performed by the Education Society in Bengal, and it may be expected that the same effects should be produced by the same means at this Presidency; but the number of Europeans here is so small, and our connection with the natives so recent, that much greater exertions are requisite on this side of India than on the other.

"The circumstance of our having lately succeeded to a Brahmin government likewise, by making it dangerous to encourage the labours of the missionaries, deprives the cause of education of the services of a body of men who have more zeal and more time to devote to the object than any other class of Europeans can be expected to possess.

"If it be admitted that the assistance of Government is necessary, the next question is how it can best be effected; and there are two ways which present themselves for consideration. The Government may take the education of the natives entirely on themselves, or it may increase the means and stimulate the exertions of the society already formed for that purpose. The best result will probably be produced by a combination of these two modes of proceeding. Many of the measures necessary for the diffusion of education must depend on the spontaneous zeal of individuals, and could not be effected by any resolutions of the Government. The promotion of those measures, therefore, should be committed to the Society; but there are others which require an organized system, and a greater degree of regularity and permanence than can be expected from any plan the success of which is to depend upon personal character. This last branch therefore must be undertaken by the Government.

"The following are the principal measures required for the diffusion of knowledge among the natives. First. To improve the mode of teaching at the native schools, and to increase their number. Second. To supply them with school books. Third. To hold out some encouragement to the lower orders of natives to avail themselves of the means of instruction thus afforded them. Fourth. To establish schools for teaching the European sciences and improvements in the higher branches of education. Fifth. To provide for the preparation and publication of books of moral and physical science in native languages. Sixth. To establish schools for the purpose of teaching English to those disposed to pursue it as a classical language, and as a means of acquiring a knowledge of the European discoveries.

Seventh. To hold forth encouragement to the natives in the pursuit of those last branches of knowledge.

"The means by which the direct exertions of Government can be best applied to promote schools is by endeavouring to increase their number, and on this I am of opinion that no pains should be spared. The country is at present exactly in the state in which an attempt of the sort is likely to be most effectual. The great body of the people are quite illiterate, yet there is a certain class in which men capable of reading, writing, and instructing, exist in much greater numbers than are required, or can find employment. This is a state of things which cannot long continue. The present abundance of people of education is owing to the demand there was for such persons under the Marhatta Government. That cause has now ceased, the effect will soon follow; and unless some exertion is made by the Government, the country will certainly be in a worse state under our rule than it was under the Peshwa's. I do not confine this observation to what is called learning, which in its present form must unavoidably fall off under us, but to the humble acts of reading and writing, which if left to themselves will decline among the Brahmins, without increasing among the other castes.

"I can conceive no objection that can be urged to these proposals except the greatness of the expense, to which I would oppose the magnitude of the object. It is difficult to imagine an undertaking in which our duty, our interest, and our honour are more immediately concerned.

"In the meantime the dangers to which we are exposed from the sensitive character of the religion of the natives, and the slippery foundation of our Government, owing to the total separation between us and our subjects, require the adoption of some measures to counteract them; and the only one is to remove their prejudices, and to communicate our own principles and opinions by the diffusion of a rational education.

"It has been urged against our Indian Government that we have subverted the States of the East, and shut up all the sources from which the magnificence of the country was derived, and that we have not ourselves constructed a single work, even, of utility or splendour. It may be alleged with more justice that we have dried up the fountain of native talent, and that, from the nature of our conquest, not only all encouragement to the advancement of knowledge is withdrawn, but even the actual learning of the nation is likely to be lost, and the productions of former genius to be forgotten. Something should surely be done to remove this reproach.

"It is probably some considerations like these that have induced the legislature to render it imperative on the Indian Government to spend a portion of its revenue in the promotion of education; but whatever were the motives that led to it, the enactment itself forms a fresh argument for our attention to the subject. It may be urged that this expense, however well applied, ought not to fall on the Government; that those who are to benefit by education ought to pay for it themselves; and that an attempt to introduce it on any other terms will fail from the indifference of the teachers and from the want of preparation among those for whose benefit it is intended. This would be true of the higher branches of education among a people with whom sound learning was already in request; but in India our first and greatest difficulty is to create that demand for knowledge, on the supposed existence of which the objection I have mentioned is founded.

"With regard to the education of the poor, that must in all stages of society be in a great measure the charge of the Government. Even Adam Smith (the political writer of all others who has put the strictest limits to the interference of the executive Government, especially in education) admits the instruction of the poor to be among the necessary expenses of the sovereign, though he scarcely allows any other expense except for the defence of the nation and the administration of justice.

"I trust, therefore, that the expense would be cheerfully incurred, even if it were considerable and permanent. But that of the schools is to be borne by the villages; the prizes and professors by funds already alienated; the press, as the demand for books increases, may be left to pay itself; and when the plans I have proposed shall once have been fully organized, I hope that the whole of the arrangement, so beneficial to the public, will be accomplished without any material expense to the Company.

"It is observed that the missionaries find the lowest castes the best pupils; but we must be careful how we offer any special encouragement to men of that description; they are not only the most despised, but among the least numerous of the great divisions of society. It is to be feared that if our system of education first took root among them, it would never spread farther, and in that case we might find ourselves at the head of a new class superior to the rest in useful knowledge, but hated and despised by the castes to whom these new attainments would always induce us to prefer them. Such a state of things would be desirable if we were contented to rest our favour on our army, or on the attachment of a part of the population.

but inconsistent with every attempt to found it on a more extended basis.

"To the mixture of religion, even in the slightest degree, with our plans of education I must strongly object. I cannot agree to clog with any additional difficulty a plan which has already so many obstructions to surmount. I am convinced that the conversion of the natives must infallibly result from the diffusion of knowledge among them. Evidently they are not aware of the connection, or all attacks on their ignorance would be as vigorously resisted as if they were on their religion. The only effect of introducing Christianity into our schools would be to sound the alarm, and to warn the Brahmins of the approaching danger. Even that warning might perhaps be neglected as long as no converts were made; but it is a sufficient argument against a plan, that it can only be safe as long as it is ineffectual; and in this instance the danger involves not only failure of our plans of education, but the dissolution of our empire."

The extract which I now subjoin will be read with interest as connected with the preceding subject. It forms part of a letter written in 1832 to Mr. Hyde Villiers, Secretary to the Board of Control. Certain queries were circulated preliminary to the inquiries of the Parliamentary Committee that were preparing the way for the Legislature of 1833. Mr. Villiers's circular pointed out the topics on which the Committee desired information, and Mr. Elphinstone's reply, which is a document of considerable length, deals with a variety of subjects some of which were of temporary interest. I have already quoted a passage from it, bearing on the freedom of the press. The paragraphs here subjoined have reference to the broad question of the improvement and elevation of the natives of India.

"The disadvantages under which the natives labour, from long subjection to local government, from ignorance and superstition, and from the degradation of character resulting from those causes, are obvious.

"The great peculiarity in their situation arises from the introduction of a foreign government. This at first operated beneficially, by establishing tranquillity, and introducing improvements in administration. Its next effects were less beneficial. Under a native government, independent of the mutual adaptation of the institutions and the people, there is a connected chain throughout society, and a free communication between the different parts. Notwithstanding the institution of castes, there is no country where men rise with more ease from the lowest rank to the highest. The first Nuwaub (now King) of Oude was a petty merchant; the first Peshwa a village

accountant ; the ancestors of Holcar were goatherds ; and those of Scindia, slaves. All these, and many other instances, took place within the last century. Promotions from among the common people to all the ranks of civil and military employment, short of sovereignty, are of daily occurrence under native states, and this keeps up the spirit of the people, and in that respect partially supplies the place of popular institutions. The free intercourse of the different ranks, also, keeps up a sort of circulation and diffusion of such knowledge and such sentiments as exist in the society. Under us, on the contrary, the community is divided into two perfectly distinct and dissimilar bodies, of which the one is torpid and inactive, while all the sense and power seem concentrated in the other.

“ The first object, therefore, is to break down the separation between those classes, and raise the natives by education and public trust to a level with their present rulers ; but even in this a foreign government has difficulties to overcome, as its improvements may fail from the want of preparation in the people to receive them ; they may occasion violent resistance, from their objects being misunderstood ; and in particular instances they may produce great danger, even from their success, if they are ill suited to the general state of society, or clash with particular parts of the ancient system which have not yet been removed.

“ This consideration should impress on us that, although our efforts for the improvement of the natives should be strong and constant, they should also be patient and deliberate. An opinion seems rather to have gained ground of late years, that the scrupulous caution which we have hitherto shown in all our proceedings towards India was too nearly allied to timidity, and that it only requires a little enterprise to effect every change that we think desirable.

“ This seems to me a very dangerous error. If acted on in great questions by the Government either at home or in India, the consequence scarcely requires to be pointed out ; but even a disposition to encourage such an impression would be very mischievous. There is always on the part of individuals an inclination to enforce their own opinions in opposition to those of the natives, which it requires all the weight of the government to check ; if this restraint were withdrawn, native prejudices would be daily outraged by the carelessness of some and the ill-judging zeal of others, and the result is not difficult to foretel. Even if it were possible to keep down the people by force, our power stands by our native army, and our native army partakes in all the prejudices of the nation ; caution, therefore, is the surest way of attaining the objects which all have at heart

The improvement of the natives is certain if our rule continues ; but so great is the danger from inconsiderate attempts at improvements, and also from premature and partial changes in the opinion of the natives, as to make it at least an even chance that we are separated from them before they have had time to derive much permanent benefit from the connection.

"I will here only remark, that I consider that it is more important to impart a high degree of education to the upper classes, than to diffuse a much lower sort of it among the common people. This latter object also is highly important ; but it is not the point in which there is most deficiency at present. It will, besides, be much easier to make the lower orders desirous of learning to read, after a spirit of inquiry and improvement shall have been introduced among their superiors. The most important branch of education, in my opinion, is that designed to prepare natives for public employment. It is important, not only from its contributing so directly to the general improvement, but also from the stimulus it affords to education among the better class of natives, by connecting it with their interest.

"I conceive that the study of English ought to be encouraged by all means, and that few things will be so effectual in enlightening the natives, and bringing them nearer to us ; but I have no hope that ever it will be more than a learned language, or at best a language spoken among people of education, as Persian is now in some parts of India. I believe there has been no instance of one language being supplanted by another, unless among people in a very low stage of civilization ; or even among them, unless they were previously reduced either to actual servitude, or to a state very little less dependent.

"With respect to the employment of natives, they are already very largely admitted into the judicial department. It seems desirable gradually to introduce them into offices of higher rank and emolument, and afterwards of higher trust. I should see no objection to a native member of a Board, and I should even wish to see one district committed experimentally to a native judge, and another to a native collector. At the same time I think very strict supervision requisite, and many Europeans necessary for that purpose. If this be not attended to, the natives will introduce their old corrupt practices into the system at the first outset, and we shall never be able to eradicate them.

"In opening the higher appointments to the natives, care should be taken to do it in such a manner as to prevent unreasonable

expectations and consequent discontent. No situation of political or military power should for a very long time be entrusted to a native.

"The result of educating natives both in English and in their own language must be favourable to the progress of Christianity; indeed education seems to me the only means by which there is any chance of favouring its progress; direct attempts at conversion, while the native superstitions are still unimpaired, would, I conceive, excite a spirit of controversy and opposition, if it did not lead to more serious results. Except in the case of the conversions by the Portuguese, which seemed more nominal than real, I have not witnessed any visible progress in the conversion of the natives in India; I have heard that many have been converted in Travancore, but I know nothing of the particulars."

After Mr. Elphinstone's labours in the cause of education, those connected with the improvement of the laws and regulations of the Presidency stand next in rank and importance. Their history, however, need not detain us long; for valuable as was the legacy he left behind, in the code of regulations which bears his name, the work was in itself little more than a code of procedure, and formed only a small portion of his original design.

Upon his accession to the government, he would appear to have entertained a hope of reducing to a code the whole civil law of the Presidency. Enquiries were conducted in various parts of the territory, embracing questions of custom and usage, which were embodied in valuable reports; but it will not surprise those who have followed the history of such attempts in other countries, or even in India itself, that so great a work was not accomplished in the brief period allotted to an Indian governor. That, however, which he effected was most valuable, and with the assistance of a commission appointed by himself, and composed of two members of the Indian service, assisted by Mr. Erskine, son-in-law of Sir James Mackintosh, he framed a code that, in all essential particulars, still maintains its place as the basis of the regulations of the Presidency. Much of his time was given to the superintendence and revision of this work, which finally became law in the year of his retirement from the government.

As it bears the stamp of Mr. Elphinstone's approbation, and in some measure was his own, it may deserve mention that, instead of the pedantry which prevailed in the Bengal provinces, and which maintained the Persian language as that of business and record in judicial proceedings, the code of Bombay provided for the use of the English language in the inferior courts; while in the local tribunals it enjoined the use of the language of the country in which the court

sits; that it required the evidence of witnesses to be taken in the vernacular, and that the procedure enjoined was more simple and natural than that which prevailed in northern India, and with which Mr. Elphinstone was familiar in the commencement of his career. The written pleadings were less numerous, and the rules were framed with a view to bring matters to an issue.

I have mentioned at the commencement of this chapter that the term of Mr. Elphinstone's government passed without any striking event. Our relations with the native states connected with the Bombay Presidency were not altogether without importance, and the transaction with the Marhatta court of the Guickwar, by which the brother of the deceased chief was elevated to the throne, was carried out by Mr. Elphinstone himself on a visit to Baroda in 1820. The details of the negotiation are of slight historical interest. This Marhatta state, from the imbecility of its former chief, and the large pecuniary advances the British Government had made to it to clear it from embarrassments, had become completely dependent upon our power, and our interference had extended to details of administration from which we have, in our general relations to these governments, endeavoured to keep ourselves clear. When Syajee, the new chief, was elevated to the throne, Mr. Elphinstone made the experiment of a relaxation of the shackles by which the Government was bound, in the hopes of giving some vigour to the administration. The details of the transaction illustrate the difficulties which arise in such alliances, when attempts are made to fix the line to which our interference should extend; but the transaction itself scarcely requires any further notice in a sketch like the present.

In pursuance of my plan of throwing together in a connected series Mr. Elphinstone's opinions on matters of Indian administration, I add some additional letters and extracts which were written after he had left the country, but are so directly connected with his labours in India, as to merit a place here. The first of these was written to Mr. Hyde Villiers, in answer to another series of questions on the political relations of the Government of India to the native states. The enquiries of Mr. Villiers branched into a variety of elementary matters, for the instruction of the different committees. I only give those portions of Mr. Elphinstone's replies which illustrate his general views, or are of permanent interest.

"No native prince has put himself under our protection, until his government was in such a state of decay as to be incapable of subsisting by any other means. The immediate effect of the measure, therefore, has generally been a temporary recovery of vigour and

prosperity. The ill effects which afterwards result from subsidiary alliances have often been pointed out. It has been shewn that, by rendering the prince's safety independent on his own exertions or good conduct, they destroy his energy, and at the same time increase the arbitrary character of his government. It is also said that our treaties obstruct the natural course of events, by which, when a native government reaches a certain pitch of corruption, it is overturned, and a new and better one raised on its ruins.

"There is great truth in these observations, especially the two first; but the effects deduced from them seem to me to have been carried much too far.

"The energies of protected princes in war and politics are certainly impaired by our alliance; and as it is in those departments that we require their assistance, their deficiencies are soon discovered and loudly complained of. Even in this respect, however, I think we are wrong to attribute the whole of their decline to the alliance. Scarcely any State that has sprung up in India since the fall of the Mogul empire, has retained its vigour after the death of its founder, and not one has failed to sink into complete decay by the third generation. The ephemeral character of Asiatic governments may be observed in countries where our influence certainly never reached. At the time of our first treaty with the Nizam, the King of Persia had subdued all his rivals, and was threatening most of his neighbours. The King of Cabul, at a later period, occasioned us great uneasiness for the safety of our Indian empire; yet those two monarchies are now, for their extent, perhaps the feeblest in the world. Some light is likewise thrown by the history of Persia on the supposed renovation of decayed governments in Asia. That kingdom enjoyed a high degree of prosperity for three generations under the first Suffeeves. It then languished for near a century under their successors. An equal period has since elapsed, during which there have been one or two very able usurpers; but the country is still in a condition probably inferior to what it was at the commencement of the Afghan invasion. In India, certainly, there have been one or two striking cases where the powers of the government were revived by a new dynasty; but the greater part of the States which have undergone revolutions have been broken up, or partitioned, or have fallen into perfect anarchy. I conceive, therefore, that the States with which we formed alliances would have lost even their political energy, as they have done, if the English had never landed in India.

"With regard to the falling off of their internal government, I

must say that it is quite inconsistent with my own observation. I was a year in the Peshwa's country before our treaty with him, and I saw it again nine years after the alliance ; during that period it had suffered from a general famine, but the improvement in its condition was, nevertheless, most striking.

"The best proof of the fact is afforded by comparing the descriptions given by General Palmer and Sir Barry Close before the treaty, with those of the Residents after it. In some of the former it is stated, that the provinces were overrun by banditti ; and that no one would rent the lands round the capital, because, being near the seat of government, they were liable to disturbances which the Peshwa was unable to restrain. The despatches after the treaty represent the Peshwa's territories as not suffering by a comparison with those of any other native prince. The neighbouring territory of the Nizam certainly fell off after our alliance ; but I doubt if this was not owing to the inherent vices of a Mahomedan government. With all its disadvantages, it seemed to me in a better condition than Sindia's and Holcar's countries ; and generally speaking, I think the dominions of the protected princes which I have seen, were in a better state than those of the independent ones. The most flourishing territory of a native prince I ever saw was the Guikwar's.

"The principal cause of this superiority of the protected princes is probably to be found in their immunity from foreign invasion ; but the stability of the government also, though it may render the prince more arbitrary in some cases, renders him more moderate in others, and shuts out many great disorders.

"The ultimate result of our relation to protected princes may be too easily conjectured. So close a connexion between two powers so unequal and so dissimilar in all respects, can scarcely end otherwise than in the subjection of the weaker to the stronger. Differences must unavoidably arise ; and however moderate the superior power may be, the result of each must advance the inferior a step towards entire subjugation. Even without such disagreement, it is the nature of an Asiatic government to decline ; and when they are worn out, their States fall into our hands. How far their subjects are benefited or otherwise by the change will be discussed in another place ; I need only observe here, that the subsidiary treaties have prevented formidable combinations and dangerous wars, which, unless they had succeeded in expelling us from India, would have led to the extinction of the native States as certainly as those alliances. It appears to be our interest, as well as our duty, to use every means to preserve the allied governments ; it is also our interest to keep up the number

of independent powers ; their territories afford a refuge to all those whose habits of war, intrigue, or depredation make them incapable of remaining quiet in ours ; and the contrast of their government has a favourable effect on our subjects, who, while they feel the evils they are actually exposed to, are apt to forget the greater ones from which they have been delivered. If the existence of independent powers gives occasional employment to our armies, it is far from being a disadvantage."

In another letter to Mr. H. Villiers, of the same date, he enters largely on one of the most important questions of Indian administration that recent events have forced upon public attention, viz., the transfer of the local army to the Crown.

"Any advantages expected in placing the Indian army directly under the King, must, I presume, be confined to the officers ; to the men it would be a matter of perfect indifference, provided it could be prevented from leading to interference with their interest or prejudices.

"A complete incorporation with the King's army, and the free admission into sepoy regiments of officers unacquainted with the language or ways of thinking of the natives, must, I conclude, be considered as quite impracticable. We must, therefore, suppose an army in all respects as it is now, but subject to the commander-in-chief in England, or to a department of the ministry. In that case, if the pride of the officers was for a moment flattered by a more immediate connection with the King, that feeling would probably be altered when they discovered that from a separate service, which had a reputation and pretensions of its own, and was the sole object of attention to the military department of its government, they had sunk into an inferior branch of another army, and were scarcely known to their commander-in-chief. Their solid interests would gain as little by the transfer as their consequence. If there were still to be regiments belonging to the King's European army employed in India, there would, then as now, be a difference of interest between the two branches of the service ; but the leaning which is now considered to be in favour of the Indian army (in appointments to staff and commands) would probably be transferred to the other branch, the members of which would have the advantage of acquaintance in England, and of claims from service against European enemies. When to this is added the natural disposition of the officers at head-quarters to introduce more discipline, subordination, and economy into the Indian army, and to assimilate it to the other branch of the service, I think it is much to be feared that the transfer would introduce greater and more lasting discontent than has ever yet been experienced. Respect for the King's

name might check improprieties of language and conduct on ordinary occasions, but in case of extremities (if such a case be possible) it would not make the slightest difference ; since even now it is perfectly understood that mutiny against the Company is rebellion against the King. There would, therefore, be more chance of discontent than there is now, and no more means of restraining it.

“ An intermediate arrangement, making the distinction between the armies less complete, and yet imposing some restraint on the indiscriminate admission of officers into sepoy regiments, would still be imperfect. The facilities of transfer would be oftenest employed to the advantage of the superior branches of the service, while the restrictions would be insufficient to secure a mutual understanding between the native troops and their officers.

“ If the Indian army were under a civil minister, more attention would probably be paid to its peculiarities. It would meet with more consideration in questions about batta, rise by seniority, and other points which affect it, and not the King's army ; but it would neither be so exclusively protected as by the Court of Directors, nor so effectually kept in order as by a purely military authority.

“ It would, no doubt, effectually protect the Indian officers if all the troops, European and native, in India were permanently formed into one army, and no officers from Europe allowed to be employed in it ; but this would increase the provincial spirit already complained of, and lessen the ties which now connect that army with their country. It is not to their holding their commissions from the Company that the peculiarities of character ascribed to the Indian army have arisen, but from their being placed in a situation to which it is not easy, in the present state of the world, to find a parallel.

“ The army in England is completely mixed up with the nation, of which each individual is hourly reminded that he forms a part. In India the European officers are a distinct community, entirely unconnected with the people among whom they live, and scarcely ever brought into intercourse with any one beyond their own body. In this state of separation they know they are in a country held by the sword, and that the sword is in their hands. It is not surprising that in such circumstances some of them should assume a tone of independence unusual in other armies, and it is, perhaps, rather to be wondered at that their conduct, on the whole, has been so little insubordinate.

“ I have hitherto assumed that the government is to be under the King as well as the army. The separation of the civil government from the military would probably not answer in any country, but,

least of all, in India. The great problem there has always been to maintain the subordination of the military power to the civil, and to prevent clashing between the governors and commanders-in-chief. In this we have not always been successful, even when both drew their authority from the same source. The separation of the two branches of government, even if it led to no struggles between the civil and military chiefs, would soon make the former almost insignificant with Europeans, and entirely so with the natives, who can fancy no power unconnected with military command. If the payment of the troops were to be separated from the patronage and the control, every retrenchment would have the character of an offensive interference; and if this were obviated by the Company's paying a fixed sum to the King, still the protection of its subjects from military license, and other points of duty which could never be entirely disjointed from the government of the state, would involve the civil authority in constant disputes with the military.

"The only remedy would be always to unite the offices of governor and commander-in-chief; but it would be no small objection to the plan, that it restricted the selection for so important a station to the small number of general officers who have sufficient rank for the military command.

"I am not competent to judge of the comparative frugality of the two administrations in most of the instances specified; but I think there would always be a strong tendency in the King's government to judge of the reasonableness of allowances and pensions to Company's officers by those of his Majesty's service. This I consider among the dangers attending the transfer; for even if it were safe to reduce Indian allowances, it seems to me very far from advisable.

"The pay of the European officers is not now more than sufficient to enable them to maintain their rank among the natives, and scarcely sufficient to keep up their connection with their own country, by the prospect of revisiting it in their old age.

"Almost all the above observations relate to the manner in which the proposed changes will affect the officers. Their effects on the sepoys are, however, of still greater importance; many of these may be foreseen, and some of them may be guarded against; but as the sepoys are of many different classes, and as they are all liable to be affected by circumstances which have no influence on us, it is more difficult to form anticipations about them than about our countrymen and equals—the officers. The risk of unforeseen results applies more strongly to the transfer of the native army to the King, than to the mere consolidation into one body; and considering that our safety

depends entirely on that army, and that we have a precarious hold on it even now, it would appear that we should hazard no changes at all, except to remedy obvious evils, and none of a general nature without clear and urgent necessity."

It will be interesting to compare with these opinions some letters addressed to the writer of this memoir in 1858. They deal with a portion only of the same great and difficult question. Opinions were frequently broached both in public and private favourable to an exclusive reliance on a large local European force, and of course excluding the line troops from India. Mr. Elphinstone addressed me on the subject in the following strong terms:—

"Hookwood, *March 15, 1858.*

"My dear Colebrooke,

"I hope the remodelling of the army will be very seriously considered. It is so complicated and so important a matter, that I scarcely think it can be settled without commissions both here and in India. If they were composed of few persons, and dispatch insisted on, their report might be received before the end of the session. The abuse of patronage, and even the discontents of the Indian officers, fall into the shade amidst the vast speculations that are forced on our attention. For one example, only consider the effects, both near and remote, of having an army of 50,000 Europeans unconnected with that of Great Britain, without a constant circulation of British blood, without the society, the example, and even the control of the strictly national force; especially if colonization succeed, and farms in the Himalaya become more attractive than pensions in England. The immediate danger would be a partial stratocracy like that attributed to the Bengal sepoys, and the remote ones would include the example of the Greeks in Bactria, or the Janissaries in Algiers. A soldier in the present royal army knows when he enlists that he is only one man in 10,000, and that all the rest are jealous of the least attempt on his part to encroach on their rights; he lives in constant awe of the magistrate, the police, and even the mob, and no more thinks of opposing the civil government than of altering the course of nature. With this training he may be safely trusted for a long period in India, being subject to recall at any time, and seeing regiments round him continually changing in the ordinary course of reliefs. But a recruit for an exclusively Indian army would be transferred at an early age to a country where he would be raised by his colour, as well as by some moral qualities to undisputed superiority over the millions round him, while he himself would have no superior except a body of insolent and meddling civilians, whose power

depended entirely on his support, and whom the slightest movement on his part would be sufficient to intimidate or remove. Where should we have been if such had been the state of feeling at the time of the Afghan war, or the Sikh invasion, not to mention the mutiny of the Bengal sepoys? Yours most sincerely,

(Signed) "M. ELPHINSTONE."

This striking letter was followed up the next day by another, enclosing an extract from a letter from a distinguished public servant and old friend of Mr. Elphinstone, then in the south of France. By a singular coincidence, Mr. Elphinstone's correspondent employed similar arguments expressive in even stronger terms of the danger of exclusive reliance on a local European force. Wishing to press the Government to refer this question to a commission, I asked Mr. Elphinstone to permit me to quote his opinion in the House of Commons.¹ In his reply he returned to the general subject:—

"HOCKWOOD, March 25, 1858.

"My dear Colebrooke,

* * * * *

"To those who think a mutiny of Europeans chimerical, you may quote that of a handful of men who seized His Majesty's Castle and Island of Bombay in 1683, then our only possession, and kept it against the Company for two years, though still professing allegiance to the King; the mutiny of the French troops, under D'Auteuil, in 1749, which changed Dupleix's triumph into terror and consternation, and nearly nipped in the bud the grand design of bringing all India under the rule of France; the mutiny of the European part of the Bengal army in the face of an enemy under Clive, in 1766; that of the Madras Army in 1776 (in which the Commander-in-Chief took part), which deposed and imprisoned Lord Pigott; the all but mutiny of the Bengal officers in 1795-6; and that of a large portion of those of Madras against Sir G. Barlow in 1809. These were only partial mutinies and in circumstances particularly unfavourable to malcontents, yet in all of them either a little less firmness or a little less moderation and concession on the part of the Government would have led to a contest that might have proved fatal to our Indian empire. I only suggest these cases for inquiry, putting them down from memory.

"I entirely agree with you as to the necessity of leaving the Governor-General the entire control of the Queen's troops in India as

¹ I had no occasion to make any appeal, as the Government appointed a Commission soon after these letters were written.

he has now, the discipline and internal arrangements remaining as now with the Horse Guards, but I do not think it would be so difficult to settle the partition of the patronage as you seem to consider it. A similar distribution between the Governors and Commanders-in-Chief at the several Presidencies seems at first sight equally intricate, yet it has been settled by fixed rules so clearly that a difference on the subject hardly ever takes place. The great difficulty on this and on all other subjects arises from the supposed necessity of settling everything at once and without a moment's delay. On this I can be no judge, but I own I do not see the necessity for so much haste, and am more struck with the advantage of allowing some time to pass over, if our own minds were already made up as to what ought to be done.

"No resolution adopted at this time, on the proportion of European troops and sepoy, and the consequent organization of the Indian army, could be permanent, and yet you justly view that question as one of the utmost importance. We must of course have a large sepoy army, but we cannot at present judge what proportion it should be allowed to bear to the Europeans. At present that latter portion must be very considerable, and even when quiet is completely restored I do not think it can ever be made nearly as low as it was before the mutiny. It was then, I think, under 50,000, and in estimates for this year I believe it is taken at 92,000 men. Who can guess how many we shall require three years hence (even if tranquillity be undisturbed)? Whether we wish it or not, our government will assume a more decidedly European character than it has yet borne, and we cannot be quite certain what the effect may be either on the whole or particular classes of the natives.

"Yours most sincerely,

"M. ELPHINSTONE."

The two letters to which I shall next invite attention were, like those last quoted, written many years after Mr. Elphinstone's return to England. The subject to which this refers forms the concluding chapter of some of the transactions of his Indian administration, and the principles involved are of the highest moment at the present day.

It will be remembered that one of the most important parts of the settlement of the territory conquered from the Peshwa, consisted in the elevation of the descendant of the old Marhatta dynasty to the sovereignty of a territory of limited extent. Its success as part of a policy of conciliation has never been impugned, and the British Government derived all the advantage they anticipated from a policy

whose objects were mainly of a temporary nature. The success, too, of the experiment of elevating a young man, whose life had been one of seclusion, to a position of such responsibility, was in another respect most complete. The Raja evinced a turn for business and a capacity for administration unusual even in those trained to it from early years. Mr. Elphinstone told me that he used to find him surrounded with papers and accounts, and as eager to discuss details of administration as a civil servant fresh from his cutcherry. I need not repeat to an Indian reader the long process carried on in India, and the still longer one in this country, which led to and followed his dethronement. He was accused of engaging in the wildest intrigues, having for their object the overthrow of British power in Western India. The inquiry was prosecuted with an eagerness by the Bombay authorities that embarrassed both the Government in Calcutta and the home authorities. A mass of evidence was collected by a public Commission of Inquiry, followed up by inquiries of a most voluminous character, and the Government, being at length compelled to act, took the singularly infelicitous step of inviting the accused sovereign to renew in more stringent terms the treaty which was assumed to be broken, and, as it were, compromise the case by a confession of the justice of their suspicions. The terms were indignantly refused, and the deposed prince went into exile.

The British Government did not suffer in reputation from this proceeding, for grave grounds of suspicion were laid before the world, and there was an evident desire to escape from the final step. Mr. Elphinstone certainly thought that the manner in which the enquiry was conducted, by a Commission summoning a prince whose government we had acknowledged, was a most undignified proceeding; but I am not aware that he ever expressed an opinion on the substantive merits of the case, nor even that he had waded through the mass of evidence and correspondence with which it was overlaid.

It was very different with regard to the second Sattara case. The brother of the dethroned prince was elevated to the throne, and a few years afterwards, when struck by a mortal disease, he sought to continue the sovereignty by the Hindoo custom of adoption. In all successions to property as well as sovereignty, this right is interwoven with the religion and the most ancient practice of hereditary descent. Its importance may be judged by the mere fact, that it involves the whole question of collateral descent. When the direct line fails, the right of collaterals is regulated by the customary law of adoption; and, as in sovereign families in India, the line of direct descent more frequently fails than in private life, any assertion on the

part of the British Government to interfere with, or regulate it according to their own arbitrary views, affect the rights of every principality, and if unjustly exercised, must ultimately bring every native government under the direct dominion of the British Crown. Its importance as affecting their rights and our own reputation could not be exaggerated, and it was as immediately appreciated by the Government that had to decide the question.

The dying Raja held his territory in sovereignty and perpetuity, ceded by the British Government to himself, his heirs, and successors; but the same treaty bound him in all important transactions to consult the British Government, and he instantly turned to the British representative to give his sanction to the step. The officer in attendance had no instructions to provide for such a case, and he declined to act; and the Raja, asserting the right which he considered guaranteed by the treaty, completed the religious ceremony which, as he thought, transmitted the throne to his relations. The most extraordinary part of the proceedings of the British Government, when called upon to decide, consisted in their misinterpretation of this very simple proceeding. The admission of our right to decide as arbiters (a right which is constantly exercised in regard to all native states in the interest of public order and of the states themselves) was assumed to be an admission of our right to decide in favour of ourselves. The right of the sovereign was pronounced to be an imperfect one, and the state was declared to have lapsed to the British Government as that of a feudatory whose direct heirs have failed.

I do not remember ever to have seen Mr. Elphinstone so shocked as he was at this proceeding. The treatment of the Sattara sovereignty as a jagheer, over which we had claims of feudal superiority, he regarded as a monstrous one; but any opinion of the injustice done to this family was subordinate to the alarm which he felt at the dangerous principles which were advanced, affecting every sovereign state in India, and which were put forward both in India and at home. The loose manner in which the claim to regulate such questions as lords paramount, and the assertion of feudal claims of escheat as applicable to every state in India, were frequently commented upon, and he particularly dwelt upon the fallacy which was at the bottom of all the reasoning of the advocates of resumption, that precedents of interference with successions as arbiters supported our claim to decide the question in our own favour. The questions raised by the latter precedent have such an important bearing on the future of India that I offer no apology for giving the opinion of Mr. Elphinstone, expressed at the time in some letters to myself. I give them out of a

very numerous file in my possession. The first tells its own story; the second was written at my request, with a view to be shown to the Government. Mr. Elphinstone had previously refused to give his opinion publicly on the substantial merits of the place when applied to by Mr. Hume, and I begged him at least to let it be known by the Government how strongly he was opposed to the application of this precedent to states whose sovereignty we acknowledged.

“ Hookwood, May 13, 1849.

“ My dear Colebrooke,

“ Many thanks for your letter. I suppose the argument will be what you say, that the Raja was placed under so many restrictions that he could not be regarded as a sovereign, but must come under the rules applicable to dependants. But although such an argument might be used by foreign princes who chose to deny the Raja's sovereignty, it could not be urged by us who have solemnly acknowledged his *sovereignty* in the same treaty that enumerates the restrictions which are put upon the *exercise* of it. Even granting that he is dependant, it does not necessarily follow, that his territory, on defect of heirs, is to escheat to the power on which he depends; or that that power has a right to regulate the succession to his possessions: to complete the argument it is necessary to prove that such has been the invariable practice of India, and must have been understood by the parties to the treaty. To make out this proof, Mr. Willoughby and those who adopt his reasoning proceed to argue that *some* dependant chiefs are subject to this rule, and *therefore* the Raja is subject to it. They instance many enamdars, jageerdars, &c., but can they show any prince who had been acknowledged as a sovereign to whom the rule had been applied at the time of the treaty? Can they deny that there are now many sovereign princes under limitations similar to those on the Raja, over whom such a right has never been used or pretended to? Nobody will say in Parliament that an adoption by Scindia, the Nizam, the King of Oude, &c., would not be *legal* without our confirmation, or that a son so adopted could not be an heir in the usual sense of the term; nor will any body allege that on the extinction of the families of those princes, their dominions will devolve on us as an

¹ In a subsequent letter he expressed a doubt whether he had not asserted himself too broadly that we had *never* applied the rule about adoption to sovereign states. “ My doubt,” he afterwards explained, “ was whether in our innumerable engagements to dependant chiefs the word *sovereign* might not possibly have been applied to some of them, so as to make it unsafe to assert that we had never interfered as superior in succession to princes to whom we had given that title.”

escheat. The claims founded on the general usage therefore fall to the ground.

"But we have claims founded on the treaty itself which deserve a separate consideration. By one article of the treaty the Raja is bound to be guided by our advice in all important measures; no measure can be more important than the adoption of a successor; and if the Raja adopted one in defiance of our remonstrances, or eluded our objections by a clandestine adoption, he would have broken the treaty, and we should be entitled to inflict such punishment as his offence justified, up to annulling the treaty and taking back our cession. Nobody has asserted that such an infraction of the treaty has taken place in this instance.

"Again, we have a claim to the reversion of the Raja's territory; not as an escheat, but on grounds arising from the nature of the treaty. We ceded the country to the Raja, his heirs, and successors: when these are extinct the treaty is at an end, and things return to the state in which they were before it was concluded. The country therefore is once more at our disposal. I do not dispute Holt Mackenzie's opinion, that the interests and wishes of the inhabitants ought to be consulted in such a case; but their claims are founded on the general principles of justice, and not upon this treaty. Our claim to the reversion, however, can only come into operation when the heirs and successors are really extinct; and this must be decided by the law and usage of the country, not by our arbitrary will.

"I am afraid I have tired you with my long discussion, but you may be consoled by the reflection that it is the last you will hear of it. I think it very doubtful whether Hume will get a House to listen to him; and if he does, there will probably be so much nonsense talked on both sides, that the real question will escape notice. I have just received the Report of the Proceedings of the Court of Proprietors on this question, and have only skimmed over parts of it. The case seems to be strongly put in Sullivan's opening speech. The Court of Directors might give an easy answer to the calls for reference to me and Grant Duff. It is not the intention of the agents of one of the parties that ought to influence the decision, but the words of the treaty, which were read and approved of by the principals on both sides. The evidence of the ministerial agents could only be of use if they could disclose any new facts showing that both parties had agreed to some tacit reservation, or had employed particular terms in a sense different from that usually put upon them.

"Yours most sincerely,

"M. ELPHINSTONE."

" WATERLOO HOTEL, Feb. 13, 1850.

" My dear Colebrooke,

" In answering your question as to the general opinion in India, while I was there, with respect to the relation between the British Government and the principal native States, especially our right to regulate their successions, I can only speak with certainty of my own impressions; but I believe they were those entertained by most of the other persons employed in transactions between our Government and the native States.

" Our relations with the principal States (the Nizam, the Peshwa, Sindia, Holkar, and Raja of Berar, &c.) were those of independent equal Powers, and we possessed no right to interfere in their successions, except such as were derived from our treaties with them, or our situation as a neighbouring State.

" In many of the new alliances contracted in Lord Hastings's time, an alteration was made in the footing on which the contracting parties stood, by the native State engaging to acknowledge the supremacy of the British Government, and these terms were introduced into treaties with some even of the principal States (those of the Rajpoot princes); but they do not appear to make any difference in the control of the British Government over successions. Their object was to secure the political supremacy of the British Government, not to assist its feudal sovereignty, and to obtain the *subordinate co-operation* of the native prince as an ally, not his subjection as a vassal. The British Government was to be supreme in all transactions with foreign States; but all internal affairs were to be regulated as before by the law and usage of the territory, free from any interference of the British Government. The succession, I conceive, was an internal affair, in which the British Government could not interfere, unless in a case which might affect the foreign relations of the State, or the general tranquillity of the country.

" This, I conceive, was the general impression in India when I was in that country. There was no native State to which the recognition of its succession by the British Government was not of the highest importance; but none of them, I conceive, ever imagined that that Government had a right to regulate the succession as feudal lord, or had any pretensions to the territory as an escheat on the failure of heirs to the reigning family.

" The above is my own conviction on a general view of the case, and I believe it was the opinion entertained in India in my time; but on this point it can be of no value, if it does not agree with the views

of my remaining contemporaries, or with those recorded by others at the time.

“ Believe me, yours most sincerely,
“ M. ELPHINSTONE.”

I must now bring this chapter in my narrative to a conclusion. In November, 1827, Mr. Elphinstone resigned the government of Bombay, followed by testimonies of respect and regret that have rarely been bestowed on any public functionary. An address from the native inhabitants of the Presidency, headed by the names of the native princes and chiefs connected with it, expressed their feelings in terms that would appear fulsome and adulatory were they not supported by other testimony. I give the opening paragraph :—

“ We, the native princes, chiefs, gentlemen, and inhabitants of Bombay, its dependencies, and allied territories, cannot contemplate your approaching departure from the country without endeavouring to express, however faintly, the most profound and lasting regret which has been occasioned in our minds by your resignation of the government of this Presidency. For until you became Commissioner in the Deccan and Governor of Bombay, never had we been enabled to appreciate correctly the invaluable benefit which the British dominion is calculated to diffuse throughout the whole of India. But having beheld with admiration, for so long a period, the affable and encouraging manners, the freedom from prejudice, the consideration at all times evinced for the interest and welfare of the people of his country, the regard shown to their ancient customs and laws, the constant endeavours to extend amongst them the inestimable advantages of intellectual and moral improvement, the commanding abilities applied to ensure permanent ameliorations in the condition of all classes, and to promote their prosperity on the soundest principles, by which your private and public conduct has been so pre-eminently distinguished, has led us to consider the influence of the British Government as the most important and desirable blessing which the Supreme Being could have bestowed on our native lands.”

The address enters at some length into an enumeration of the benefits derived from his administration, and concludes with the assurance that “ the name of Elphinstone shall be the first our children shall learn to cherish, and that it will be our proudest duty to reserve indelibly unto the latest posterity the name of so pre-eminent benefactor to our country.”

In compliance with the request contained in this address, a portrait of Mr. Elphinstone, by Sir Thomas Lawrence, was placed in

the rooms of the Native Education Society ; his statue, by Chantrey, was raised in the town hall ; and the foundation was laid of the Elphinstone College, to which I have already referred. I am told that when the proposal to raise the last-named tribute to his fame was announced to him, "*Hoc potius mille signis*" was his eager reply. I suppose no man felt more strongly when young the desire for fame. "In youth we are all for glory" was his expression to me on one occasion when I uttered some sentiment that seemed opposed to his own early aspirations. Certainly no man in his maturer age was more indifferent to mere honorary distinctions, or more sober and more practical in his aims. The pleasure he felt that his name would be connected with a great educational institution was to be fully realised. A sum was subscribed, exceeding two lacs of rupees and ultimately reached 2,72,000, destined for the "foundation of professorships for the purpose of teaching the natives the English language, and the arts, sciences, and literature of Europe ; to be held in the first instance by learned men to be invited from Great Britain until natives of the country should be found perfectly competent to undertake the office."

The institution was not established until 1834, owing to delays on the part of the Home Government. They are scarcely worth referring to, except as illustrative of the difficulties with which these pioneers of civilization had to contend. The promoters of this plan naturally looked to some aid from the Government, but though their application received the advocacy of Mr. Elphinstone's successor, Sir J. Malcolm, the replies of the Home Government for a time may be almost said to have been evasive. They at length decided to countenance the attempt so far as to allow a liberal rate of interest on the investment, and the Elphinstone Institution once fairly launched became the nucleus of subsequent exertions until the contribution of the Government became greater in furtherance of the object to which it became at length alive.

CHAPTER IV.

1827—1859.

No one who reads the few specimens I have here given of Mr. Elphinstone's papers and letters can fail to perceive that they proceed from a mind of a high order of talent, and matchless in the

thoughtful earnest spirit they evince. It has been the unceasing regret of those friends who knew and appreciated his excellence, that the public career of one so truly statesmanlike should have terminated in his forty-eighth year. It is a satisfaction to know that his capacity for greater things was appreciated by successive administrations. The Governor-Generalship of India was offered to him by Lord Ellenborough, on the part of Sir Robert Peel's Administration, in 1836, and the offer was renewed by the Government which succeeded. The weakness of his health, which was shaken when he left Bombay, and never recovered its tone, compelled him to decline both these offers, and the remainder of his long life was devoted to the literary pursuits which had always occupied a considerable portion of his leisure hours. Valuable as are the works he has left behind, I cannot but here add my own strong opinion, gathered from the intercourse of more than twenty years, that the character of his mind pre-eminently fitted him for the public life of an Indian statesman. Lord Ellenborough gave utterance to a very common remark, when he said at the public meeting which was lately held, that had Mr. Elphinstone accepted the Governor-Generalship we should have had no Afghan war, an event that tinged the whole subsequent history of India. It is perhaps idle to speculate what might have been the course of events had it not been for the removal of one man from the scene. There are few countries where the influence of a single mind may be so strongly felt, as it certainly would have been felt had Mr. Elphinstone been placed in the high position for which he was so well fitted.

Upon quitting India Mr. Elphinstone devoted eighteen months to travel. He passed through Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy, and did not arrive in England until May, 1829. Poetic, as much as historical, associations guided his steps, and I think that at this time, even more than in after life, classical sympathies had the strongest influence. I well remember how he urged me at a time that I was going to the Levant to give a liberal allowance of my time to the Coast of Asia Minor, so famous in song and famous in story (I quote his own expression). I am not aware whether he commenced at this period a practice which he pursued with intermission through after life—of keeping a journal. It was carried out with diligence during this journey and again on subsequent occasions when he left England, and contained not merely the observations of a passing traveller, but occasional essays on localities of historical interest, such as the field of Cannæ and Hannibal's passage of the Alps. I am referring of course to his own

description of his practice. Of the journal itself I have no means of judging, except from reference made by himself when the subject of conversation led him to take down a volume to refresh his memory. Passages which he has read to me were very characteristic, and denoted an active and observant mind. I may mention that during the late French campaign in Northern Italy, I happened to put some question regarding the ground bordering on one of the rivers that was the scene of struggle. He instantly turned to the journal, and quoted a clear description of the place, drawn with the eye of a soldier, that assisted me to understand the strategical position of the two armies.

It may be unnecessary to mention that the injunctions of his will that these journals were not intended for publication render them unavailable to a biographer.

Upon his arrival in England, to which his reputation had preceded him, he received a cordial welcome from many of the most eminent in letters as well as in public life, and no man was more qualified to take a position in society on not unequal terms. The testimony of one so accomplished as Bishop Heber is decisive on this point; but such was the native modesty of his character, and such the high standard by which he was accustomed to measure his efforts, that his intercourse with men of the stamp of Hallam and Rogers impressed him almost painfully with the scantiness of his literary stores. "When I met them," he told me, "I used to find myself constantly out of my depth." He instantly decided with his characteristic energy to remedy this, and recommence some part of his education almost from the beginning. In pursuance with this resolution he retired for many months to a roadside inn (I think it was at Sutton), and then applied to Greek like a young scholar, working at the grammar and writing exercises. This was his own description to me of his proceedings, and it was alluded to casually while urging me to more systematic study, for no one spoke less of himself.

This practice of retirement for the sake of study was pursued at irregular intervals during the first few years of his return to England. He resided principally in London, and occasionally visited Italy. He was at all times a great reader, and to travel was to study, and the number of books he used to carry about was very great. He would devote himself to some special study for months in every year, when he passed some time at a watering-place, avoiding general society. One who knew him intimately in later life, and first became acquainted with him in Italy in 1831, says that it was surprising to him, then fresh from college, to see the variety of his classical attainments. A year or two later when he met Mr. Elphinstone at

Tanbridge Wells, he found his table strewed with the Greek tragedians and the apparatus that a college student would bring to the study of them.

In truth, whatever interested him interested him keenly and was pursued with ardour. But I am not aware that it was followed up at this time with any other object than the love of knowledge and the delight which the pursuit always gives. Next to classical literature and history, European history and historical antiquities had the greatest share of his attention. With physical science he was not familiar, and he used to express his regret almost sadly, that his want of mathematical knowledge had closed the door to such a field of research.

An active mind and rarely satisfied with the mere accumulation of literary stores. In 1834, he laid the plan of that historical work with which his literary reputation is associated. From some jottings of dates in his handwriting, it appears that he began to think of an Indian history in January, 1834, and commenced it in earnest in July of the same year. January, 1835, found him "fairly engaged in Menu," and he concluded a portion of the Hindu period in 1835, when he instantly forwarded his manuscript to his old friend, Mr. William Erskine, for his opinion. Upon receiving his reply, which we are led to infer was encouraging, he set to work again in September, 1837, at the landed tenures, worked part of the time with a moonshee, and finished the Hindu and Mahomedan part in May, 1839.

He "began the European part" in July, 1839; and the memorandum concludes, "May, 1840. Lord Jeffrey recommends publishing. June, 1840. Settled with Mr. Murray. March 3, 1841. Received first copies of my history."

The work was pursued at irregular intervals, for in July, 1835, he became a member of a public commission over which the late Lord Minto presided. It was appointed to inquire into the means of religious instruction afforded to the people of Scotland, and took up a considerable part of his time during the winter of 1835-36, when he resided in Edinburgh. He passed a few months in Scotland, in the summer of 1837, for the same object. The greater part of the autumn and winter of 1836-37 was given to a tour in Italy, Germany, and Hungary. When, however, he applied himself to the work it was in earnest. The writer of this memoir first became acquainted with him at this period, and enjoyed much of his society during the winter of 1838, which he passed at Brighton. It was only during the afternoon that he would see his friends, when he would delight to join in long rambling walks over the downs. The mornings and evenings were devoted to work.

In commencing a great literary work late in life he laboured under great disadvantages, and I think they are to be traced in the composition and style of this well-known work. It has always struck me that the style of his published works is very inferior in force to that of his letters, and still more so to that of his conversation, and does not do justice to the vigour and originality of his mind. He used to speak of his history modestly as a contribution to the great subject he had taken in hand, that might aid the work of some future man of genius, and this diffidence of his own powers affects the tone of the work. The public, however, at once appreciated its value. It is a most valuable manual of all that is interesting in the early history of India, and the good sense and sagacity of the remarks will secure it a place of standard authority. If it fail to be a popular work this springs mainly from the nature of the subject with which it deals. The history of a race so deficient in historical records as the Hindus, resolves itself into a series of historical disquisitions that cannot interest the many; while that of the Mahomedan period, important as it is in its bearing on modern history, becomes insipid from the sameness of the revolutions that it records. Mr. Elphinstone's narrative introduces as much of philosophical reflection as the subject admits of, and his remarks have a direct bearing on the important events with which the European reader is interested, and to which the early narrative is only regarded as an introduction. Nothing, too, can be more graphic and masterly than the account of the manners and character of the different races of India, to which some interesting chapters are devoted.

It will be observed from the memorandum which I have quoted, that the published volume formed a part of a greater undertaking, embracing the rise of the British power in India; but failing health compelled him to abandon it. He continued his labour for about two or three years, and with such assiduity that his absence from London used to be prolonged, for, as he said, the trifling interruptions of friends, and even notes, interfered with that steady application to which he desired to devote himself. I am not aware that he has left behind any considerable materials, but he had formed very decided opinions on the events which led to the rise of the British empire in the East, and on the character and conduct of its founders; and his friends who enjoyed his intimacy largely profited by them. His love of truth never allowed him to be blinded to the defects of some of our heroes. I remember well the delight with which he spoke of Macaulay's sketch of Clive when it appeared. "The life of a great man should be written in this manly style; he should be painted

with all his faults. A history of British India written in such a spirit was a great loss; but when he abandoned the undertaking, he told me that he reconciled himself the more readily to it, as every step he had made in his study of the rise of our empire led him to doubt whether he could throw any additional light on it.

It was, I think, in 1842 that he finally gave up his labours. Doubts had occurred to him before whether he could expect to complete it, and it was owing to the advice of Lord Jeffrey, who strongly recommended the publication of the completed volumes, even though the subsequent portion should not appear, that they were given to the world. In the summer of 1842, he returned from Italy with his health shattered by a severe illness, and the still severer treatment he had undergone. He now, in obedience to his physician's advice, adopted a regimen that more and more withdrew him from general society and eventually from London. His health was at this time so precarious that it was only by a watchful attention that he guarded himself against renewed suffering; but with this attention, and with a regularity of habit, it recovered its tone sufficiently to enable him to follow steadily those literary pursuits that were still left to him, and which made him bear with cheerfulness a life of privation from society under which many minds would have sunk. In 1844 he rented a place in the neighbourhood of Leith Hill, and from thence he removed to another place, in the same neighbourhood, in the following year. He finally settled at Hookwood, in Kent, where he passed the remainder of his life. All these residences were more or less secluded, and wanting in easy access to those friends who sought his society. They were in some degree recommended to him on this account. His love of reading had now grown on him to such a degree as to amount to a passion, and he seemed to grudge the hours he did not devote to study. With all this there was a warm and affectionate welcome to old friends, and he would delight to throw aside his books and give himself up entirely to discuss the thousand topics of interest with which his mind was stored.

I give the following short note, written soon after his retirement to the country, because it illustrates that cheerfulness of spirit which I have alluded to, and it is one of the very few letters in my possession which contains the slightest allusion to himself, or his manner of life. To compose a biographical sketch from his letters would be next to impossible.

"OCKLEY, *Sept.* 23, 1845.

"Your letter gave me the more pleasure as I had begun to despair, not of seeing you altogether, but of your being here before this country gets as bleak and bare as the one you last visited. Any day

will suit me, and the earlier the better; especially as the sooner you come, the longer you will be able to stay. You must, however, be prepared for the accommodation and luxuries of a real cottage, and for the solitude and dulness of a real hermitage. Even out of door amusements will be under a disadvantage, as my walks are very short; and though I can go any distance in a close carriage, yet that will require you to risk your character in a yellow hack chaise, with two or more panes in each window. If you wish for freer excursions you must bring a horse, or trust to a neighbour, who candidly puts on his sign, licensed to let a horse, which horse, when [not separately employed, draws a tax cart.

"There is a coach for Bognor which passes my door. There are also coaches for Brighton and other places, through Dorking. All these roads lead to Dorking, and I would advise you to take a chaise there, and instead of coming the straight road come by Westcott and Wootton. It is a much prettier road, besides passing close to Wootton, still inhabited by Evelyn, and surrounded by *Silves* of old Evelyn's planting."

Hookwood, to which Mr. Elphinstone moved at the close of 1847, was recommended to him, like his former residences, on account of the beauty of the country in which it lies; and the house was better suited to receive the visits of friends. From this time, though his life was a retired one, it could not be described as secluded; and many of his relations used to pay him long visits. At this time, however, he had to encounter a privation the most trying to a student. He was attacked by a weakness of his eyesight, attributed to the general state of his health; it never amounted to blindness, nor deprived him of the power of writing letters, but any attempt to read was followed by such pain that he was henceforward excluded from books, and had to rely on the assistance of others to pursue his studies. As he engaged a reader he was able to do this systematically and effectually, and continued to pursue subjects of enquiry with the same method as before. The regular division of his time, which this mode of life required, contributed in some measure to improve the tone of his health, and though an invalid he was never a sufferer, and continued to derive the highest enjoyment from literature and the society of friends.

Those whose best days have been passed in responsible situations in India, always follow with the deepest interest the course of eastern events, and Mr. Elphinstone was no exception to the general rule, but I have sometimes doubted whether his political leanings in matters of home politics were not superior to his Indian sympathies. I have selected a few letters illustrative of the interest he took in questions of Indian government, and it is curious to observe how his Whig partialities sometimes peep out in the midst of the absorbing subjects with

which he is dealing. I have only given some of his letters relating to India and the East, for though his remarks were statesmanlike and sagacious on all questions of European interest, his reputation is almost entirely Indian, and it was upon Indian questions that he was consulted during his life by those who had the privilege of his friendship. It is within my knowledge that two Governors-General sought his society before proceeding to their government, as of the highest living authority for the affairs of the East.

The letters I give require no explanation. They refer chiefly to the two periods when the constitution of the Indian Government came under public discussion.

“Hookwood, March 5th, 1853.

“My dear Colebrooke,

“Your account of Indian affairs rather relieves me, as I was afraid of haste and blundering in any changes, but I hope there will be *some* changes. Something, for instance, to make a more respectable Court of Proprietors, who might not only be better electors but might form a Court at which it might not be discreditable to speak, move for papers, comment on public measures; for it is impossible to speculate about the machinery of the Home Government, because the springs which move the whole are concealed behind the veil of P. C., into which the evidence only gives a peep; but anything which would give more publicity to such proceedings, as even now are partially public, would be a check both on the Directors and the Board, and would strengthen the former. The Quadruple System,¹ or something *at least* as effectual, should be adopted to provide good servants. There should, if possible, be some honourable way of shelving worn-out servants, and of pensioning stupid and lazy ones without disgrace; but these subjects, together with the Law Commission, the Native Consultative Council, the increase of remuneration to the upper class of the natives already employed, and the employment of natives to a greater extent, with many other matters that suggest themselves, could only be partially handled by Parliament, if at all. The best thing that could happen would be an early appearance of the proposed plan, to be followed by a great deal of opposition and discussion, orders for printing innumerable papers (for the use of the public hereafter, for the movers themselves could not read them now), and in short as much stir and as long continued, as could be done without creating agitation in India, which might not cease with the present discussion.

¹ It was proposed in the Act of 1833, that four nominations of writers should be made for every appointment to the Indian Civil Service. The Act was never carried out.

"One thing Parliament might do, fix a liberal sum for the expenditure of each Presidency, not to be exceeded except in extreme cases, and then with sanction from home ; and that done, leave the inferior Presidencies independent in all matters that do not affect the general politics or imperial legislature of India."

" Hookwood, *March 20th*, 1853.

"My dear Colebrooke,

"I waited for the arrival of the reviews before I answered your letters. They reached me two or three days ago, and I have read a very good article on the Life of Mohammed, and rejected two (in the 1851 number) on the present India discussion, on account of their tone of contempt and defiance towards all assailants of the present system. I really think these extravagant panegyrists have been the worst enemies the Company have met with. The moment the public found an unsound point in the faultless edifice presented to them, they seized on the idea that the whole was a mere screen, and gave ready credence to the most absurd accounts of the abominations which it was said to conceal.

"I do not know if the general excitement about India had begun when you last wrote to me, and perhaps it is over by this time, but it seemed by what I heard to be something like that on the Papal Aggression. If I have not formed an exaggerated idea of it, it will make a great change in the policy proper to be adopted.

"The Company is now so much discredited, that it will be impossible to go on quietly under the shadow of its name ; and all hope of avoiding agitation in India is also at an end, for the effect produced here by the India petitions will raise hopes of advantage to the natives generally, and of distinction to individuals, that will not easily be kept within bounds. If this be the real state of things, I doubt whether the wisest plan is not to look the difficulty in the face, and enter on a full and free inquiry into the present state of India and the changes (if any) that ought to be made in our principles of Government.¹

"You will readily forgive all this blotting, when I tell you that I was getting into a dissertation that had nearly filled another sheet, and might have filled a third or more if it had not been put a stop to. The substance would have been to show the alterations made by the education of the natives, the extinction of rival powers, and a variety of other causes which render a new *survey* of India necessary ; and the advantage of knowing the feelings of the

¹ Several lines afterwards erased followed the above.

people all over the country by allowing time for discussion in the Mofussil, so as to ascertain what are the points in our yoke that really gall them, what grievances can be redressed, and what can be done to guard against the increase of groundless discontent arising from false views on delusive expectations. All this could be done with more ease and safety now than it would be if the discontent were allowed twenty more years to go on increasing and strengthening. All this, however, is mere speculation on a first view, which further consideration might refute ; and the only thing I am quite fixed in, is the hope that the ministry will not risk their retention of power on the Indian question (important as it is), unless it suits their general tactics to take things in that order. I have been reading Holt Mackenzie's Evidence in the volume of 1832, and am struck with the correctness as well as the extent of his views in the first days of his examination (for the others seem to relate to financial details). Many of his suggestions have been adopted with success, and *all* or almost all the topics now under discussion are anticipated and decided in the manner now most in favour with good judges."

" Hookwood, *January 3, 1854.*

" My dear Colebrooke,

" Along with this letter, or soon after, you will receive the 'Insurrection in China,' which I am ashamed of having kept so long. It is very interesting, as shewing the character of the insurrection and the views of its leader. The hatred of the Tartar Government seems to have been far more general than could have been supposed. The misfortune it experienced in its war with us increased its exactions at the same time that it disclosed its weakness, and resistance was sure to have arisen even if there had been no concert among the malcontents. What was wanting was a man of energy, who could devise a scheme by which the general excitement might be turned into one channel and brought under the influence of a single will. The philosophy of Confucius seems to afford the only moral principle that had any hold on the minds of the people, but it could not supply enthusiasm and impulse for want of a religious sanction. To remedy this the leader (or leaders) engrafted on it a faith which was already making progress, and which, besides its intrinsic merit, was in harmony with the moral doctrines of Confucius, and well suited to the moderate and pacific character of the Chinese. It was a bold stroke to assume the direction of the power thus formed in the character of a divinity rather than an apostle, but we must suppose that the projector knew best what would suit his countrymen ; indeed the whole merit of the plan depends on the degree to which it is adapted to the state of

popular opinion ; and, in this instance at least, success or failure will be the real test of the genius of its contriver. The whole affair suggests some serious thoughts about India. It shows how the most systematic endeavour to amalgamate two races has failed after a trial of near two centuries. How little internal tranquillity and material prosperity have sufficed to reconcile the conquered nation to its foreign rulers, and how little reliance can be placed on apparent attachment to a government, even when it assumes the shape of filial affection combined with a sort of religious devotion. It also shows how little foreigners can judge of the real character of a nation. If there was one thing that we thought characteristic of the Chinese, it was their obstinate adherence to old habits ; one would have thought that a Chinese would have changed his government or his religion rather than have given up his pigtail, and now it proves that this very pigtail is among the worst of the grievances that have driven the nation into rebellion. All this leads to the reflection that there is nothing in India to prevent a new Nanik from uniting all the seemingly discordant elements in India, if any circumstance should reduce our military power even for a few years, and how difficult we should find it ever to recover our ascendancy. The moral is that we must not dream of perpetual possession, but must apply ourselves to bring the natives into a state that will admit of their governing themselves in a manner that may be beneficial to our interest as well as their own, and that of the rest of the world ; and to take the glory of the achievement and the sense of having done our duty for the chief reward of our exertions.

"I must make up for this unprovoked dissertation by abstaining from all other topics."

"Hoorwood, September 9, 1857.

"My dear Colebrooke,

"I yesterday received your letter of the 5th, and the papers on the day before. I hope the account of Lord Canning's indecision is overrated, though the story about Jung Behauder, *if accurate*, does not tell in his favour. The addresses of the European residents will no doubt help to increase the clamour against the Company, which will be sure to arise from the natural tendency of the public to impute every disaster to the misconduct of the people in power. But notwithstanding the liability of the House of Commons to be carried away by the madness of the moment during a popular delusion, I don't think either they or their constituents are so thoughtless as to sanction a revolution in the Government of India at a moment like the present. Leaving out all other objections, only imagine the probable effect of

announcing to people who have been driven into rebellion by the very thought of being made *Feringees*, that thenceforward their rights were to be secured by placing them under the immediate protection of the Queen, thus incorporating them with the British nation, and admitting them to a share in all the blessings by which it is distinguished from the nations of the East. Yet this is the language which many writers of the day recommend as a specific for soothing all minds, and removing all doubts and suspicions. There is a good article in yesterday's *Times* on the other side of the question, from which I suppose that they (the editors), believe the mind of the ministry is made up to keep things as they are for the present. The last accounts from India are, doubtless, very gloomy; the risk of fresh interests and new feelings arising during the interval of inaction is certainly very great, and to one who has just read Munro's admirable Minute,¹ it appears that the full accomplishment of his prophecy is at hand. But there is some comfort in the recollection how often foreign Governments have kept their ground in worse circumstances than ours. I will only mention the case of Rome, which was a much more oppressive Government than ours, and had tougher materials to work on in Spain and Gaul, and higher notions of freedom and national independence to contend with in Greece and her offshoots, than we are ever likely to see among our Asiatic subjects. I have often wished to get some knowledge of the sort of administration by which the Romans contrived to fix their power on so firm a basis, but although it is easy to find out the framework of a Government in a province, I do not find any clue to the means by which it was administered. I suppose that what we do know is equivalent to a knowledge of the constitutions of the Presidencies in India, together with the law as administered by the Supreme Court, and a revenue system founded on farming to English capitalists; while all the details of legislation as well as administration were left to the natives, and managed by native princes or by local municipalities. Can you tell me where information on this subject is to be found? I suppose it must be well ascertained after all the researches by German and other scholars in late times. If you never read the account in Polybius of the mutiny of the mercenaries, which nearly overthrew the Government of Carthage, it will interest you in the present time. It differed in its origin and many details from ours, but still you will be struck with the analogy in many particulars. I read it in Hampton's translation, where it is near the beginning of the first volume. It is not long."

¹ The Minute on the effect of the Education of the Natives on the Army, which had been lately republished.

"Hookwood, *December 20th, 1857.*

"My dear Colebrooke,

" * * * * *

I am not so much afraid of the constant interference of the House of Commons, as of its indifference in general, and its acting on impulse on particular occasions without any general acquaintance with the subject. I think both the House and the public generally come to just conclusions when they have time to consider them, such as is afforded by our *triple* Government in this country, but I am afraid to trust them with the prompt, simple, and direct exercise of power which is now thought so particularly desirable in India, a country in which, of all others, caution and gradual progress are most required. I hope that feeling will lose some of its force during the discussions that must take place in the approaching Session. I think the ardour for the consolidation of territory, concentration of authority, and uniformity of administration which was lately so powerful, must have been a good deal damped by recent events. Where should we have been now, if Scindia, the Nizam, the Sikh chiefs, &c., had been *annexed*, the subordinate Presidencies abolished, the whole army thrown into one, and the revenue system brought into one mould, whether that of Lord Cornwallis, Sir T. Munro, or even Mr. Thomason?

"I should be more anxious about the coming session if I were quite at ease about Lucknow, but I have a horror of street fighting, where discipline loses so much of its superiority over numbers, and I cannot help thinking what would be the consequence of the defeat of the Commander-in-Chief in person, even at the present stage of the war."

"Hookwood, *February 23rd, 1858.*

"My dear Colebrooke,

"I am heartily sorry for the news. I would have swallowed Lord Palmerston's India Bill or a worse, much rather than have the risk of a state of things like the present. There is no chance of my being able to answer your letter otherwise than by an arbitrary list of desiderata, to which I shall proceed—

"1st. A Minister of the Queen.

"2nd. A Board, independent of the ministry and of all party influence, numerous enough to give weight to the body and courage to the individual members. To have an establishment of its own and to carry on all its debates and other business apart from the Minister of the Crown.

"3rd. As a general rule the Board to have the initiation of all measures, and the elaboration of all details.

"4th. The Minister to decide on all measures, to take the initiative in special cases, and on cases of urgency and secrecy, to act at once on his own responsibility.

"5th. All discussions and all important correspondence to be recorded as at present, and means to be taken to give them publicity.

"6th. The home patronage to be disposed of as in Lord Palmerston's plan. That in India to be left to the local governors, but to be strictly limited to particular classes, either formed by nomination like the present services, or open to *all*, subject to examinations, probations, conditions as to residence in India, &c., sufficient to prevent lucrative employments from being employed for corrupt purposes, by means of collusion between the governors and the ministry at home.

"I have said nothing on the mode of appointing the members of the Board, which in fact is the essential question.

"The best plan would be by a body of electors taken from different classes, and so chosen as to have some authority in the eyes of the public. I should have preferred something representing the present East India Company, but with a large defection of the present body of proprietors, and a corresponding addition from suitable sources. This would have given the advantage of present possession and old associations to a body possessed of many of the other qualities required for the purpose in view.

"Such a body, or a better, might be made up by selection from particular classes, whose station might give them weight (as ex-judges, ex-governors of colonies, ex-ambassadors, &c.), or who might be supposed capable of taking an interest in India (as members of "Aborigines Protection," and other philanthropic societies, even societies likely to take general views, as the Geographical, Asiatic, &c.). Many other plans might be suggested, if the public was in a humour to take them in good part, but every plan for governing India must be more or less a sham as long as India herself has not a part assigned in it, and at present all eyes will be turned to discover its weak points, and all hopes of the sanction of public opinion, which is essential to its success, must be given up.

"Perhaps after all Lord Palmerston's plan, with some modifications, is the best practicable, viz., to have a *sufficient number* of directors appointed for long periods (say ten years), with a small proportion to go out annually, so as to enable each party to have its turn in the nominations. If an elective body is to be formed, great care must be taken to avoid too large a proportion of Anglo-Indians, whether in or out of the service, especially if they still retain their connexion with India as public servants, or become members of the India House.

They certainly will have more knowledge and will take more interest in the prosperity of the people than strangers, but they will also have interests and feelings, separate and even opposite to those of the natives; and, moreover, dissensions among themselves, which will bring local factions into play, more perilous than those we are so much afraid of at home; black and white, covenanted and uncovenanted, civil and military, settlers and temporary residents, &c., would be much more dangerous to India than whig or tory.

"I have confined myself to the new plan for the Home Government. There are questions of at least equal importance relating to the local Government that call for decision, but on them I shall not enter."

"Hookwood, *March 1st, 1853.*

"My dear Colebrooke,

"Many thanks for your interesting letter. I do not see anything that can be done at present for the purpose of controlling the Governor-General, excepting strenuously resisting all attempts to give him the power of naming the Members of Council, and keeping up the present plan of having all proceedings and *discussions* recorded and sent to this country.

"The fact is, I am more afraid of the Governor General's being too much reduced under the new system than by his being made too strong. He is the link between the despotism of India and the *Commonwealth* of England, and should possess power enough to command the highest respect, not only from foreign states, allies, and native subjects, but above all from our servants, civil and military, in India, and even to a certain extent from the Home Government. It is the last feeling that has made him the main bulwark of the patronage of India, against the encroachments both of the ministry and the directors.

"The avowed tendency of Lord Palmerston's Bill is to increase and protect his authority, and I have no doubt it would do so for a time, while all concerned are on their good behaviour; but I am afraid things will be far otherwise after public attention has been withdrawn from India, and Ministers begin to look on that country as a means of strengthening their party at home.

"The immediate effect of such restraints as are likely to be imposed by the new system will be beneficial.

"The great grievance at present is the disregard of the Governors-General to the repeated injunctions of the Court of Directors against plans of conquest, and other modes of extending our territory. Such

disregard is not likely to be tolerated on the new plan. The Minister for India will be the sole ostensible head of the whole administration of that empire, and it is not probable that he will be content to submit to the obscurity which the President of the Board of Control used to court. His object used to be to avoid all disputes that might bring the separate action of the ministry in Indian affairs before the House of Commons, and to do this he was obliged to deal with the Court of Directors in a way that weakened the authority of both, and left the Governor-General pretty nearly his own master. I imagine that the practice at that time was for the Court of Directors to check the Governor-General when they thought it right, and for the Board of Control to support him ; that the Board generally carried its point, and that even when it gave way and allowed the official instructions to be drawn according to the wish of the directors, there was always a private correspondence between the President and the Governor-General, that emboldened the latter to pursue his own views without much fear of the consequences.

"All this will now cease, and my fears are not for the present, but for the future, when attention will be withdrawn from India, and when a weak and unscrupulous ministry may send out devoted adherents of its own to the Supreme Government, through whom it may employ the patronage of India for party purposes, supporting the measures of its creature through thick and thin in return.

"Against such a design, no restrictions afforded by an exclusive service, examinations, competition, conditions of previous residence in India, &c., will be of the least avail. The public is always averse to monopolies, and will support all infractions of those protective regulations which moreover will be introduced gradually and almost unperceived.

"*March 2nd.*—The above was written yesterday, but my eyes got so tired and my scrawl so illegible, that I thought it would be a relief to you, as well as to myself, to leave off, and have a fair copy made for your use. I am afraid you will find it very unsatisfactory after all. The only effectual check that I can see either on the Governor-General or the ministry at home is a Board of Council, formed by election, if possible, but at all events conducting its business entirely separate from the Minister for India. Even if we had such a Board there would remain the difficulty of getting members who would take a lively interest in *India*, viewed separately from Great Britain, and who would attend to the peculiar views and wishes of the natives, as well as to their pecuniary interests and strictly legal rights. The Company did so to a considerable extent, because it had long regarded

India as its own, and was strongly opposed to the maxim now in favour, of 'India for the English.' Sooner or later, we must introduce natives into the Council itself, or at least into the electing body, but to do so now would only produce contention and embarrass future operations."

"Hookwood, April 2, 1858.

"My dear Colebrooke,

* * * * *

"I do not know that I have any more remarks to make on the two Bills, unless I omitted to notice the indirect way in which Mr. Disraeli contrives to leave it discretionary with the Secretary to carry on the whole business without consulting the Council at all. Lord Palmerston's Bill has not this fault; but with a Council such as he proposes, its meeting or not meeting would make very little difference.

"I scarcely venture to hope that you may not be too sanguine in your expectation,—that the whole discussion may end in the restoration of a double Government under another name. But even the double Government will be of little use if the proceedings of the *Indian Governments* are not laid before the Council as a matter of course, to be reviewed and decided on by that body in the first instance. The Council would, of course, have no direct communication with those Governments, nor any other existence, except as a deliberative assembly; and the Secretary might disregard their decisions whenever he thought proper, only recording his reasons. He might also originate any measure or course of measures that occurred to him, whether arising from correspondence with India or not; might call up any particular question suggested in India for consideration out of its turn; or might press the Council for a speedy decision when he thought they were dilatory; but still it must be the special duty of the Council to review the whole of the proceedings of the *Indian Governments*, to correct any errors they observed in the course of them, and to recommend such new measures as might be suggested by the matters brought under their notice. In this way those opinions would be carefully and dispassionately formed, and would not be held back by the fear of giving offence by officious interference with the conduct of the responsible officer. Now take the opposite line, and suppose all measures of importance to be proposed by the Secretary. The functions of the Council would then be those of *Her Majesty's opposition*—to detect misstatements, to oppose erroneous proposals, to supply omissions, and to bring forward

new measures which might or might not be completely at variance with the views of the Secretary. Where could you find councillors prepared to enter on such a conflict? and if you could, might you not find it would be better to dispense altogether with a Council whose duty it would be to start objections and raise disputes on every question that came before it? I need not say that I mean the Council to carry on all its deliberations separately from the Secretary, but I am not sure that I should object to his having conferences with them when he thought it desirable."

"Hookwood, April 30, 1858.

"My dear Colebrooke,

"I shall be too happy if anything I have written can be of use to you in supporting the separate sittings of Council and its *compulsory* review of the Reports from India, and suggestions of suitable answers. I despair of forming a constituency for an elective Council, such as would give it weight with the nation, and I think we may be tolerably safe with a Council for life, especially if the first nominations should be conscientiously made, as they probably would be at a moment when all eyes were fixed on the conduct of the ministry. What is chiefly wanted of the Council is, that it shall supply the place of the Court of Directors, in protecting the interests, opinions, and feelings of the natives against the conflicting interests, opinions, and feelings of the ruling people. However selfish the original motive of this jealousy of European encroachment may have been on the part of the Directors, it became their "*traditional policy*," and has been one great cause of their unpopularity. Now I think the maintenance of this policy is exactly the line which a well-selected Council of Indians would choose for their peculiar province. Their other duty would be to guard against attempts of the Ministry, to undermine the Constitution, or to take steps *directly* injurious to the interest of the British. This they would not neglect, but they would feel how little their aid was wanted at a time when the popular element of the Constitution was so decidedly in the ascendant; while in undertaking the protection of the Indian nation they would have a vast field for usefulness and distinction which at present is almost entirely unoccupied. It is indeed astonishing, considering how much our own safety depends on the contentment of our Indian dependants, that in all the late discussions there has not been a single speaker of note, except Gladstone, that has laid the least stress on this part of the subject. They probably rely on the Indian Government for looking

to public opinion among the natives, but what could the strongest Indian Government do against a clamour for levying a new tax (say an income-tax) on India, to make up for the deficit occasioned by *its own expenses*, including the Persian and Chinese wars, and many other charges in which the people of India take quite as little concern ?

"I find I am getting into digressions, and think it is high time to leave off.

"Pray give me a line, when you can spare time, to say how the Indian question goes on. My fear is that the House of Commons will so nauseate the subject as to swallow any pill that is offered to it, on condition that it shall be the last."

"HOOKWOOD, *July 11, 1858.*

"My dear Colebrooke,

"I did not answer your letter of the 6th, until I should see the Bill quite through the House of Commons. I entirely agree with you as to its superiority over both of its predecessors, and am encouraged by the instance it affords of the real good intentions and openness to conviction which the House can show when it can be got to make itself acquainted with a subject without the excitement of some violent impulse or of party spirit. The great point, of course, is the Council, and I think that proposed will furnish a body of excellent advisers for an honest, able, and moderate Secretary (such as Lord Stanley appears to be), and that it will supply the deficiencies of a lazy or indifferent one much better than the ordinary clerks of a Board of Control would do, but that it will afford very little protection against a rash, fanciful, and self-willed chief; and none at all against one who shall combine with a ministry in a deliberate plan to appropriate the patronage of India or to make use of that country in any other way favourable to their own power or stability.

"In such a case the presence of some of the councillors in Parliament (respecting which I might otherwise have doubts) would have been an important improvement. In such a case also the evil of a secret department will be seriously felt. I am afraid you count too much on the jealousy of the power of the Crown shown by the House of Commons on the present occasion. In ordinary times it would require another mutiny or a general insurrection to attract its attention to the subject in any shape. So many changes have been made in the Bill, that I scarcely know what has been abolished or what now stands, so that I may pass without notice things which I thought of the greatest consequence when I first heard of them, but

on the whole I have no hesitation in thinking that we have been fortunate in our escape, and are safe *for the present* as far as home government goes. The first trial of the efficacy of the system will probably be on the remodel of the Indian service, civil and military. Though the public are insensible to encroachments of the Crown on the Constitution, the most influential part of them is keenly alive to the danger of their being cheated out of their share of the emoluments of office by the acts of the aristocracy, and their clamour will be for multiplication of places, reduction of salaries, and throwing down all obstacles to *appointments* except some sort of competition, and all restraints on *promotion*, which might tend to keep back merit and shut the right man out of the right place. Many disinterested and well informed people would lean to those opinions from dislike to monopoly, class government, &c., and the most honest ministry would be tempted by the easy access opened to an infinity of appointments exactly of the nature wanted for Parliament both in the House and among the electors. In such circumstances who is to defend the interests of the present service, and those of the natives who are entitled to good government and to a share in administering it as far as circumstances admit?

"This was part of the 'traditional policy' of the Court of Directors, who could make themselves heard when they found they were encroached on, but we can hardly expect it to be taken up to any purpose by the Council. The only hope is that we may have a good ministry, and one not struggling for its own existence, at the time when this and other questions of equal importance come on."

"Hookwood, October 26, 1858.

"My dear Colebrooke,

"I am very much obliged for Mr. ———'s letter. It is by far the best view of the general posture of our affairs that I have seen. I agree in all his opinions except about delaying the amnesty, and even on that head I have some doubts, because I wish that when granted it should be complete, except as to a few individuals who should be named.

"I am afraid, from what I hear on all sides, that Lord Canning is open to some of the objections made to him; but what other man have we now from whom we could expect greater perfection? The accumulation of despatch boxes, and the stagnation of business, is a lively copy of the picture one used to have of the most brilliant of his predecessors during the crisis of the war with Holkar (1805).

We must remember also that he was on a scene entirely new to him, and that from the inseparable combination of the political and military affairs, he was obliged to keep both in his own hands, while it was justly thought an instance of the utmost boldness and vigour in Lord Wellesley to entrust the whole of his own powers to the commander of the army in the field, so that 'General Harris carried with him to the gates of Seringapatam the whole powers of the British Government in India.' I hope that military operations will be over before the new year, and that we shall once more have, at least, apparent tranquillity, though never 'that sweet sleep which we owed yesterday.'

A few lines will bring this narrative to a conclusion. The description which I have given of his mode of life during the last ten years will apply to its very close. There was no loss of faculties, though one might perceive some failing of his old vigour and elasticity of mind, as the infirmities of age increased. There was, too, some unavoidable depression at having to encounter these trials in solitude; but the cheerful manly tone of his mind remained unimpaired, and the gentleness of his nature showed itself even more as his bodily weakness increased. A friend who visited him a few months before his decease, thought he perceived a painful consciousness of decline of his faculties, and the dread of outliving them. From this he was happily spared. His passage from existence was short and painless. He was seized by a stroke of paralysis on the night of the 20th November, 1859, and his servant, who heard his fall, found him insensible; in a few hours he had passed away.

He was buried privately at Limpsfield, in the churchyard which adjoins the grounds of his residence; and the same spot was soon to receive the remains of his nephew, Lord Elphinstone, to whom he was deeply attached, and to whom he bequeathed the bulk of his moderate fortune.

It will be scarcely necessary to mention the steps that were taken to recognize the public appreciation of his services, for this will be fresh in the recollection of the reader. The names of those who took a part in the public meeting held in the following February, and who headed the subscription list that was then opened, showed a fitting sense on the part of statesmen, of English as well as of Indian reputation, of what was due to the last survivor of a school of Indian statesmen, whose fame is connected with some of the most brilliant passages of our history. The list of subscriptions rapidly filled, and the sum raised will, in the first place, be devoted to the erection of a statue in the cathedral of St. Paul.

I shall make no attempt to portray a character, the nobler features of which may be discerned in the imperfect memoir which I have here given of his career. It is, I am aware, wanting in those lighter sketches of personal interest which are conveyed in private letters, and are now generally expected in a biography; and it in no degree does justice to the many-sidedness of his character, which constituted one of its principal charms. There was in him the union of two natures: the one manly, energetic, and enterprising; the other having all the tenderness, affection, and shrinking from display that belongs to the other sex. So, too, with regard to his intellectual qualities, perhaps the most remarkable feature was the combination of such sobriety and even caution in his judgment, with a vividness of imagination that is usually supposed to be incompatible with it.

His love for poetry amounted to a passion. He would discuss his favourites with the enthusiasm of a boy, and one of the last occasions on which he left home was to visit in Cornwall the scenes of King Arthur's battles. There was in his character a tinge of enthusiasm which, as he once confessed to me, led him to cherish dreams of ambition of the wildest kind. The force of his imagination cherished by his love of poetry affected his thoughts, gave a grace and charm to his conversation, but never influenced his judgment. The late Allan Cunningham truly described him to me, as the most just thinking man he ever knew. In his public papers and literary works there is a moderation of tone that hardly does justice to the decisive character of the man. No one who conversed with him would mistake this moderation for weakness or doubt; for his opinions were always expressed with force and decision. But in truth, his intellectual qualities were subordinate, and in some measure the fruit of his rare moral endowments. One whose sole thought is, what is the right thing to do, must balance conflicting difficulties, and something of this spirit may be found in his opinions; but when he is called upon to act, he will be decisive in proportion as he is single-minded in his aims. An anecdote that was related to me many years since, will best illustrate this point in his character. A friend was reading to Mr. Elphinstone a letter from a public servant in India, who was placed in a situation of singular difficulty, and worn out with anxiety, describing a hazardous step he was about to take, the anxieties he had suffered, and his recklessness of the consequences to himself. "Is it possible," broke in Mr. Elphinstone, "he could think of himself at such a moment!" This forgetfulness of self which made Mr. Elphinstone so truly public-minded, was the great charm of his private life.

Some instances of this have been given in the preceding pages. I might mention others of that generosity which, in the description of Heber, amounted to munificence ; but of this I will only say, that it was systematic, and guided by principle. But mere descriptions of character give a faint impression of the original, and in the present instance his public life and works may be left to speak for themselves.

THE memoir which is now presented to the Asiatic Society was commenced at the instance of its late Director, who urged me to give to the Society a more extended sketch of Mr. Elphinstone's literary and public life than could be compressed within the space usually allotted to an obituary notice. I readily undertook the task, to which indeed I was urged by Mr. Elphinstone's relations, who thought that the long intimacy I had enjoyed would give me some facilities in preparing such a narrative ; but I speedily found that the work I had undertaken must be expanded beyond my original design. His public services could not be described with brevity, and the memoir would be incomplete without the reader having the opportunity of judging of Mr. Elphinstone's character from his own writings. My only anxiety has been lest I should interfere with any work more worthy of Mr. Elphinstone's reputation ; but the lamented death of Lord Elphinstone, who, I understood, had it in contemplation to give to the world some collections or extracts from his uncle's public and private papers, has made it desirable that some further biography than I at first intended, should be published ; and I therefore present my still imperfect work in the present form.

ART. VI.—*On the Second Indian Embassy to Rome (Pliny, Nat. Hist. VI, 24.)* By OSMOND DE BEAUVOIR PRIAULX, Esq.

[Read 17th November, 1860.]

THE second Indian embassy to Rome was the consequence of an accident. Pliny tells the story thus. A freedman of one Annius Plocamus, while in the Red Sea collecting the tolls and customs farmed of Claudius by his patron, was caught in a gale of wind, driven past Carmania, and on the fifteenth day carried into Hippuros, a port of Ceylon. Here, though his ship with its contents seems to have been seized and confiscated to the king's use,¹ he himself was kindly and hospitably treated. In six months' time he learned the language. Admitted to familiar intercourse with the king,² in answer to his questions he told him of Rome and of Cæsar. In these conversations and from some denarii which had been found in the Roman ship, and which from the heads upon them had evidently been coined at different times and by different persons, and which nevertheless were all of the same weight,³ the Singhalese monarch learned to

¹ Not expressly stated in the text, but surmised from an expression subsequently used, "denarii in captivâ pecuniâ."—Pliny, Hist. Nat., vi. l., 24 c.

² So Sopater, and the Aditulani, his companions, A.D. 500, on their arrival in Ceylon are carried by the chiefs and custom-house officers to the king, as was the custom: *κατα το εθος δι αρχοντες και οι τελωναι δεξαμενοι τουτους αποφερουσι προς τον βασιλεα*. Cosmas Indicop.; Montfaucon, N. Coll.; Patrum i, p. 338. So of Sindbad when found stranded on Ceylon, "the people talked together, and said 'We must take him with us, and present him to our king.'"—Lane's Arabian Nights, p. 70, iii. Of this custom, however, I find no trace in the travels of Fa-hian, early part of 5th century, or of Hiouen Tshang, 7th century.

³ The next time we hear of Romans at the Singhalese Court, their money then, as now, played its part. It seems that when Sopater was presented, a Persian ambassador was presented with him. The Singhalese monarch, after the first salutations, asked whose was the most powerful sovereign. The Persian hurried on to assert the wealth and superiority of the great king. Sopater appealed to the coins of both people. The Roman money, and Sopater had only choice pieces with him, was of gold, bright, well rounded, and of (a musical ring?), *λαμπρον, ευμορφον, ευποιζον*; the Persian small pieces of silver. The king examines the coin

appreciate Roman justice. He became desirous of forming an alliance with Rome, and to that purpose sent over one Rachias with three other ambassadors to Claudius. And from their statements Pliny intimates that he derived that fuller and more accurate information with respect to Ceylon which he has embodied in his Natural History.

They stated that in Taprobane were five hundred towns;¹ that in the south² was situated Palissemundus, the capital, with its harbour and royal residence of two hundred thousand inhabitants;³ that inland was a lake, Megisba, three hundred and seventy-five miles round, and studded here and there with grass islands; and that from this lake two rivers issued, of which the one took a northerly course and was called the Cydara, while the other, the Palissemundus, flowed by the city of that name, and fell into the sea in three streams—the broadest fifteen, the narrowest five stadia across. They said that Cape Coliacum was the point of land nearest to India, and four days' sail from it was the Sun Island⁴ in mid-channel; that the sea there was very green and full of trees,⁵ the tops of which were often

and decides in favour of the Romans, who, he declares, are a wise, illustrious, and powerful people.—Cosmas in *lo. cit.* In another place, p. 148, he speaks of the excellence and universal use of Roman money.

¹ Cosmas places the great mart and harbour in the south. Of the two kings of the island, he says *ὁ εἰς ἔχων τὸν ὑακινθόν, καὶ ἕτερος τὸ μέρος τοῦ ἄλλου ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶ τὸ ἐμπορίον καὶ ὁ λιμὴν· μὴ γὰρ δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν ἐκείναις ἐμπορίων*, *ib.* 337. Here Sopater probably landed. Fa-hian and Hiouen Tshang on the other hand celebrate the capital of the Hyacinthine king; Fa-hian, p. 334, its streets and public buildings and fine houses; Hiouen Tshang its villas and their wonders, *ib.*, 143-4.

² An evident exaggeration, says Lassen, but one fostered by the native books. Thus the Rajavali (Tennent's Ceylon, i., 422) gives in A.D. 1301 to Ceylon 1,400,000 villages; but as the same work states that Dutugamin built "900,000 houses of earth, and 8,000,000 houses which were covered with tiles."—(Upham, Sacred Books of Ceylon, p. 222, iii.), and this, though some 50 years after a forest still existed at the gates of Anarajapura (Mahawanso, p. 203), the authority is of no great weight. I am inclined to think with Hamilton, that the population of Ceylon was never greater than at present.—Geog. Desc. of Hindostan, ii., 469.

³ "Portum contra meridiem appositum oppido Palissemundo, omnium ibi clarissimo et regiam ec. mille plebis."—Pliny, l. i., c.

⁴ Hiouen Tshang relates, that when he first heard of Ceylon, he heard also that to go there no long sea voyage was necessary: "pendant laquelle les vents contraires, les flots impétueux et Yakshas demons vous exposeraient à mille dangers. Il vaut mieux partir de la pointe sud-est de l'Inde méridionale; de cette manière on peut y arriver par eau dans l'espace de trois jours."—*Vie et Ouvrages de Hiouen Tshang*, tr. Julien, p. 163. In the time of Ibn Batuta, 1334, between Bahala "on the coast of Ceylon and the Maabar districts, Coromandel coast, there is a voyage of one day and one night."—*Travels*, p. 184.

⁵ Identified by Tennent with the Island of Delft.—Ceylon, ii., 550; by Vincent with Manaar or Ramana Koll-Periplus, ii., 492.

⁶ So also Megasthenes describes the Indian seas, *Μεγαस्थένου ἐκ τῶν τοῦ*

broken off by the rudders of passing ships. They admitted that with them the moon was visible only from the 8th to the 16th day; and while they wondered at our Great Bear and Pleiades as constellations of another heaven, they boasted of their Canopus, a great and brilliant star. But what of all things most astonished them was that their shadows fell in the direction of our and not their hemisphere, and that the sun with us rose on the left and set on the right hand, just the contrary of what took place with them. They calculated that that side of their island which lies opposite to the south-east coast of India was 10,000 stadia, or about 1250 miles, in length.¹ They told also of the Seræ, who dwelt beyond the Montes Emodi, and whom the father of Rachias had visited, and who would trade with and show themselves to their people; they described them as tall, red-haired,² blue-eyed, rough-voiced, and with no intelligible language.³ In other respects their accounts tallied with those of our own merchants; as that, *e.g.*, in trading with the Seræ, the merchant crossed over to the further bank of one of their rivers, and, having there laid out his merchandize, retired. The Seræ then came forward, and placed opposite it such and so much of their goods as they deemed

Ινδικα γεγραφοτα ιστορειν εν τη κατα την Ινδικην θαλαττην δενδρα φνεσθαι.—Frag. Hist. Græc., ii., p. 413, 1755. The sea in these parts is described as very green and full of coral, and "on the purity of the water and on the coral groves which rise in the clear blue depths," Sir Emerson Tennent (*ut supra*, p. 555) dwells with delight.

¹ Onesecritus, *ου διορισας μηκος ουδε πλατος*, without stating whether he refers them to its length or breadth, estimates Ceylon, says Strabo (xv. I., 15§) at 5000 stadia, or 625 miles. Vincent, however, is of opinion that these 5000 stadia were intended by Onesecritus as the measure, not of either the length or breadth of the island, but of its circumference, 660 miles, which they not very inaccurately represent. But how then get over the fact that Onesecritus places Ceylon at 20 days sail from the continent; that we have no evidence, I put aside that of Solinus (Polyb. Hist., L. iii B.), that he ever visited it, and that he must, therefore, like Eratosthenes, have derived his knowledge of it from the Hindoos, whose fabulous accounts of its size obtained, so late as the days of Marco Polo (Vincent, *ut supra*, p. 499), and spread even to China: "Son etendue du nord au sud est d'environ 2000 lie," *i.e.*, 500 miles.—Matouanlin, N. Jour. Asiatique, July 1856, p. 40.

² This description scarcely suits the Chinese, who call themselves the "Black Heads" (*vide* Translations of Official Reports from the Chinese, by Morrison, note p. 28), and of whom black hair is so much a characteristic, that Ramusat somewhere concludes that the Japanese are of a different race, because their hair is not black, but rather of a deep brown blue.

³ Solinus, *ut supra*, separates these paragraphs, and applies the description of the people to the Singhalese themselves, with the red hair as obtained by the use of a dye, "crines fuco imbuunt," and then afterwards, when speaking of the Island itself, he adds "Cernunt latus Sericum de montium jugia."

it worth, and these goods, if the trader was satisfied, he took away, and the bargain was concluded.¹

In Ceylon gold and silver are prized, marble variegated like the shell of the tortoise and gems and pearls are much esteemed; slavery is unknown;² and no man sleeps either after daybreak or during the day.³ The houses are low;⁴ the price of corn never varies;⁵ and there are neither courts of law nor law-suits. Hercules is the patron god of the island. The government is an elective monarchy, and the king is chosen by the people for his age and clemency, but he must be childless; and should a child be born to him after his election he is obliged to abdicate, lest the crown should become hereditary.⁶ He is assisted by a council of thirty, also chosen by popular suffrage, which, but only by the vote of an absolute majority, has the power of death: against its sentence, however, there is an appeal to the people, who then appoint seventy judges specially to try the case. If these set aside the judgment of the council, its members are for ever deprived of their rank, and publicly disgraced. For his faults the

¹ So Joinville (As. Res., 484, ii.) describes the veddah of Ceylon: "When he wants an iron tool or a lance . . . he places in the night before the door of a smith some money or game, together with a model of what he requires. In a day or two he returns and finds the instrument he has demanded." See also Knox, Hist. Relations, pt. II., c. i., p. 123; Ribeyro, quoted by Tennent, ii., p. 593; and Tennent's Ceylon, ii., p. 437, where the subject is exhausted. The Matouanlin, *ut supra*, p. 42, ascribes this mode of barter to the demons, the primeval inhabitants of Ceylon: "Ils ne laissaient pas voir leurs corps, et montraient au moyen de pierres précieuses le prix que pouvaient valoir les marchandises," and borrows its account probably from Fa-hian, who writes: "Quand le tems de ce commerce était venu, les genies et les demons ne paraissaient pas, mais ils mettaient en avant des choses précieuses." p. 332. Similar modes of barter, as prevailing on the Libyan shore, are described by Herodotus, l. iv., c. 196; in Sasus on the African coast, by Indicopleustes, *ut supra*, p. 139; and in the interior of Africa, in the present day, by Speke (Adventures among the Somali, June or July No. of Blackwood, 1860).

² So Arrian, of India, c. x.: *Εἶναι δὲ καὶ τοῖς μεγάροις ἐν τῇ Ἰνδῶν γῇ, παντὶς Ἰνδοῦς εἶναι ἐλευθέρου, οὐδὲ τινα δούλον εἶναι Ἰνδῶν . . . Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν γὰρ οἱ Ἕλληνες δούλοι εἰσι . . . Ἰνδοῖσι δὲ οὐδὲ ἄλλος δούλος ἐστὶ, μητοίγε Ἰνδῶν τις.*

³ Not probable, see Tennent's description of mid-day, ii., pp. 255-6.

⁴ So Ælian, evidently from Eratosthenes, says the houses are of wood and reeds, *στεγασθεῖς ἐχρυστοῖς ἐκ ξύλων δὲ πεπιτημένας ἤδη δὲ καὶ δοτακῶν*.—*De Nat. Animal.*, xvi., p. 17.

⁵ "Depuis l'origine de ce royaume," says Fa-hian, "il n'y a jamais eu de famine, de disette, de calamités, ni de troubles."—*Foe-koue-ke*, p. 334; Hiouen Tchang similarly speaks of its abundant harvests, ii., p. 125.

⁶ Stronger in Solinus, *ut supra*; "In regis electione non nobilitas prævalet sed suffragium universorum," and afterwards, in reference to his having children, "etiam si rex maximam præferat sequitatem nolunt se tantum licere."

king is punished and with death; all avoid him, and converse with him, and thus though no man kills him, he dies of inanition. The king wears a robe much like that given to Bacchus; the people dress Arab fashion. They are industrious cultivators of the soil, and have all fruits in abundance, except grapes. They spend¹ their festal days in the chase, and prefer that of the elephant and tiger. They take great pleasure in fishing, especially for turtle, which are so large that the shell of one is a house for a family.² They count a hundred years as but a moderate life for a man. Thus much has been learned and ascertained concerning Taprobane.

To fix the precise date of this embassy is impossible. But because it was an embassy accredited and presented to Claudius, it must have taken place during his reign, *i.e.* some time between A.D. 41 and 54. And because it is not mentioned, nor in any way alluded to, by Pomponius Mela, we conclude that it reached Rome subsequently to the publication of his Geography, which appeared certainly after A.D. 43, and probably before A.D. 47.³ And moreover because it is unrecorded by any political writer, because it is in fact known to us only from this account of Pliny⁴ and his copyist Solinus (A.D. 400), we presume that it reached Rome when other and more interesting events, Messalina's violent death or the daring intrigues of Agrippina, engrossed men's minds during the latter and more troubled

¹ Ælian speaks of the size of the Singhalese elephants, and how they are hunted by the people of the interior, and are transported to the continent in big ships and are sold to the king of Calinga, *ut supra*, c. iv. Tigers were, however, unknown in Ceylon, though Knox says, "there was a black tygre catched and brought to the king . . . there being no more either before or since heard of in that land," I. c. vi., p. 40; Ptolemy, VII. §, gives tigers to Ceylon; Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumskunde*, thinks leopards were meant, I., p. 198, note 1; see also *Hist. of Ceylon* by Philaethes, c. xliii.; and Ellis, of the leopards in Africa, "which are called tigers," *Madagascar*, p. 223.

² Ælian, *ut supra*, c. xvii., tells of these enormous turtles, how that the shell is 15 cubits, and makes a roof which quite keeps off the sun's rays and the rain's wet, and is better than any tile. Let me add, that among other sea monsters which according to the same authority frequent the Singhalese coast, we find the original mermaid, but without her beautiful hair, *καὶ γυναικῶν ὄψιν ἔχουσιν, αἰσπερ ἀντιπλοκαμῶν ἀκανθαὶ προσσηγνύται*, c. xviii, 30§.

³ After 43 A.D., because he notices the triumph of Claudius for his expedition to Britain: "Quippe tamdiu clausam (Britanniam) aperit, ecce principum maximus . . . qui propriarum rerum fidem ut bello affectavit, ita triumpho declaraturus portat."—*Geog.*, III., vi., §. 35. And before 47 A.D., because he nowhere alludes to the great discovery of Hippalus.

⁴ It is not impossible that Pliny may have derived his information directly from the ambassadors, as he returned to Rome from Germany, A.D. 52.—*Smith, Greek and Roman Biographical Dict.*, art. Pliny.

years of Claudius' life; and that it left Ceylon in the reign of Chandra Muka Siwa,¹ who, according to the Mahawanso, ascended the throne A.D. 44,² and died A.D. 52.

The Roman galley was carried into Hippuros. Hippuros has been identified with the Ophir of Solomon, and is in fact Ophir disguised by the pronunciation of uneducated Greek sailors, so Bochart³ affirms, and with reason surely, if Tarshish be indeed Galle, as Sir Emerson Tennent seems inclined to believe.⁴ But as Ophir and Tarshish are intimately associated with the trade in gold and silver,⁵ and as gold and silver can scarcely be said to be products of Ceylon,⁶ it follows that Ophir and Tarshish, if Singhalese ports, were ports carrying on a great trade not only with Phœnicia, but with other and gold-producing or gold-exporting countries, and a trade of a magnitude and a character which presupposes a certain, and even considerable, civilization. But, according to the Singhalese books, not until the conquest of Wijayo,⁷ B.C. 543, or more than 400 years after the building of Solomon's temple, though only about 40 years after Ezekiel had celebrated the fleets of Tarshish, was Ceylon opened to the influence of civilization: till then its inhabitants were, as their descendants the Veddahs still are,⁷ a barbarous and unimprovable race, to

¹ *I*de Mahawanso's List of Kings in the Appendix, lxii.; and Tennent's Ceylon, i., p. 321.

² *Geographia Sacra*, Phaleg. lib. II., c. xxvii.; and Chanaan, lib. I., c. xlvi., p. 691.

³ Ceylon, Preface to 3rd edit., p. xx, xxi, and p. 102, II., and also note 1, p. 554. v. I.

⁴ "And king Solomon made a navy of ships in Ezion-geber" (1 Kings, ix., 26). "And he (Jehoshaphat) joined himself with him (Ahaziah) to make ships to go to Tarshish" (2 Chron. xx., 26). "For the king had at sea a navy of Tarshish . . . once in three years came the navy of Tarshish bringing gold and silver" (1 Kings, x., 22). From these passages it would seem as if Tarshish were a great mart, all the commerce of which was carried on by the ships of those nations who traded with it. But as Psalm 48, written subsequently to David's time (9.v.), gives ships also to Tarshish: "Thou breakest the ships of Tarshish with an east wind," and Ezekiel, B.C. 588, "the ships of Tarshish did sing of thee in thy markets" (xxvii., 25), it seems that with its great trade it did in the course of years itself possess them.

⁵ "Gold is found in minute particles . . . but the quantity has been too trivial to reward the search . . . its occurrence . . . as well as that of silver and copper is recorded in the Mahawanso as a miraculous manifestation."—Ceylon, p. 29, I. v.

⁶ "This prince, named Wijayo, who had then attained the wisdom of experience, landed in the division Tambapanni, of this land Lanka, on the day that the successors of former Buddhas reclined in the arbor of the two delightful sal-trees to attain nibbanam."—B.C. 543, A. B. I. Mahawanso, p. 47, Turner's tr.

⁷ Tennent's Ceylon. On the Veddahs, p. 437, II. v.

whom all commerce was hateful : they were not likely therefore to have founded Ophir and Tarshish.

But may not Ophir and Tarshish have been the colonies of another people ? Of what people ? That they were not Phœnicians the terms in which our Scripture speaks of them sufficiently indicate ; and that they could not have been either northern Hindus or Tamils, we conclude in the one case from the otherwise inexplicable silence of the Mahawanso, and in the other from its account of the Tamil invasions and their results.¹ Whence then these colonies ? Who shall tell ? World renowned, the inhabitants have left in the country, the sphere of their labours, no written or monumental record of their existence ; nothing but three Tamil words, the Tamil names for ivory, apes, and peacocks, which the Hebrew Scriptures² have adopted to designate the same objects, the exports of Tarshish. This conjecture, then, based as it is on an evidence which may be just as well adduced to prove something else, is surely untenable ; and the sites of Ophir and Tarshish have yet to be ascertained.

Hippuros : Lassen identifies it with the headland at the southern extremity of the Aripoo-aar, called Kudramale,³ the Horse-mount, of which Hippuros is but the Greek equivalent. Simple and natural as this identification is, I must own I should prefer one based on phonetic grounds. For firstly, Ptolemy⁴ among the towns on the Indian western coast mentions an Hippocura. Secondly, I do not find that Greek traders, except in the case of divine or descriptive names,⁵ were in the habit of rendering into their own language the native names of foreign cities, but that they adapted them to their own idiom and pronunciation. And thirdly, I observe that this freedman who so correctly translates the more difficult and compound Kudramale seems, according to Lassen's own showing, quite unaware that Rachias,⁶ a simple word and in general use, is not a name but a title,

¹ *Vide* Ceylon. On the Singhalese Chronicles, pp. 397, 413, I. v.

² 'Tukeyim,' 'Tamil,' 'takri,' *peacocks* ; 'kapi,' *apes*, the same in both languages ; and the Sanscrit 'ibha,' *ivory*, identical with the Tamil 'ibam.' *Id.* Ceylon, ii., p. 102.

³ Lassen's Indischer Alterthumskunde, iii. p. 217 ; and his de Taprobane Insula Veteribus cognita. p. 22.

⁴ Geographia, lib. vii., c. i., p. 168.

⁵ Thus Indra becomes Zeus, Siva Dionysos, Lassen, *ib.*, iii., p. 219. And (*ib.*, p. 6) where he enumerates the towns and harbours on the coast, and observes on the Greek names by which they were known, as Naustathmos, Byzantion, Triglyphon, he adduces but one Theophila—now Surdhaur, Sans. Surādara, i.e., Godworshipping—which is possibly the Greek translation of a Hindu name. Of descriptive names we have the Panjaub 'Pentapotamoi,' Tadmor 'Palmyra.'

⁶ "Da dieser Name am passendsten durch rāgan könig erklärt wird, und dieses

and one borne by the members of the royal family. But whether Kudramale,¹ or some other port, Hippuros was probably situated in the north of Ceylon; because to the north of Ceylon a vessel cruising off the Arabian coast, and caught in a northerly gale, and driven southward till it fell in with the spring or south-west monsoon, would by the winds and currents be naturally driven.

"Taprobaue," Sanscrit "Tāmrapāṇ," Pali "Tāmbapanni,"² the *red leaf*. Thus Wijayo, the first Hindu settler, called that part of Ceylon where he landed, and afterwards the city which he built. This name in the course of time was applied to the whole island; and as it is the only name known to the companions of Alexander, and is the name by which Ceylon is designated in the inscriptions of Asoka,³ it must early have supplanted, even among the Hindus, the old mythological one of Lanka. Subsequently, when the Periplus was written, it seems to have become obsolete, and to have been superseded by that of Palisamundus,⁴ which itself yielded to Salike, Serendiva,—the Serendib of the Arabs—Séclediba, which are but various forms of the Pali, Sihala, with the addition in some cases of "dipa" or "diba," *an island*.⁵

Wort auch für Männer aus dem königlichen Geschlechte gebraucht werden kann, so gehörte Rachias wohl zur familie des königs und wir erfahren somit nicht seinen Eigennamen," *ib.*, iii., p. 61. See, however, Tennent, Ceylon, vol. i., p. 536, note 2, who suggests that 'Rachias' may be 'Rackha,' a name of some renown in Singhalese annals.

¹ The name is accounted for in a Hindu Hist. of Ceylon, translated in the 24th vol. of the Asiatic Journal. "A certain chitty setting out for the purpose of pearl fishing drifted near a mountain, which he called Coodiremale," p. 53, in honour probably of the horse-faced princess (mentioned *ib.*, 16 §) who, bathing in one of the wells there, lost her horse-face.

² Lassen de Taprobaue, pp. 6, 8: but from 'Tamra,' *red*, and 'pān'i,' *a hand*, according to the Mahawanso, a derivation which Lassen rejects as ungrammatical, and which the Mahawanso, p. 50, confirms, by telling that when Wijayo and his men "had landed, supporting themselves on the palms of their hands pressed on the ground, they sat down. Hence to them the name Tambapannyo, copper-palmed," and to the wilderness the name of Tambapanni, and afterwards to the country.

³ Lassen de Tap., pp. 9, 19, and Wilson's tr. of the Kapur di Giri Inscription (p. 169, XII. J. Roy. As. So., with his observations, p. 167, on the identification of Tamraparni.

⁴ Εἰς πελαγὸς ἐκκίται πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἑνὴν νῆσοι, λεγομένη Παλαισιμονῶν παρὰ ἑ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις αὐτὴν Ταπροβανη (Serip. Mar. Eryth., 61 c., p. 301, l. v., Geog. Græc. Minores, ed. Müller); Marsden observes that by a mistake not unusual, the name of a principal town is sometimes substituted for that of the country.

⁵ Ptolemy, A.D. 160, Ταπροβανὴ ἥτις ἐκαλεῖτο παλαι Σίμουνηδον. νυν δὲ Σαλική. καὶ οἱ κατεχόντες αὐτὴν κοινῶς Σαλαί. Geog., l. VII., c. iv. But Marcianus, early part of 5th century, who borrowed largely from Ptolemy, thus: Ταπροβανη νησος προτιον μιν ἐκαλεῖτο Παλαισιμονῶν νυν δὲ Σαλική,—Perip.

Palisæmundus, the capital of the island, is described as a seaport situated in the south, and on a river of the same name, which communicated with the sea by three mouths. This Palisæmundus Vossius identifies with Galle¹; Lassen, and he is followed by Tennent in his map according to Pliny and Ptolemy, with Anarajapura.² But Anarajapura, though seated on the banks of a river of some magnitude, and a capital, and a great city, which must have been known to, and could scarcely have been left unnoticed by, our ambassadors, is an inland town,³ and not even a river port, and is besides in the northern, and not the southern half of the island. It answers, then, in no way to the description of Palisæmundus; Galle, on the other hand, has a fine harbour, and is in the southern extremity of the island, and is, says Tennent, "by far the most venerable emporium of foreign trade now existing in the universe," but then it is without a river, and we have no evidence that it ever was a royal city.

But again, Palisæmundus has no signification in Greek, and is therefore probably a native name. Lassen⁴ identifies it with the Sanscrit "*Pali-Simanta*," *the head of the holy law*. It seems, then, if we have its true meaning, to have been a religious title, which might have been conferred on, or assumed by, any city especially devoted to the study of the Buddhist doctrine. And such a city was Anarajapura. But how, then, account for the fact, that its Buddhist chroniclers, who would naturally have rejoiced in, and sought to perpetuate, an appellation so honourable to themselves and their country, never mention it—are not aware of it? Their silence surely

Maris Ext., I., 35 c. Ammianus Marcellinus, A.D. 361, on Julian's accession: "*Legationes undique concurrebant, nationibus Indicis certatim cum donis optionates mittentibus . . . ab usque Divis et Serendivis*, xxii. L., 7 c. 10 §. Sopater, in Cosmas Indicopleustes, who visited the Island about A.D. 500: "*Ἡ νῆσος, ἡ μεγάλη παρα μὲν Ἰνδῶν καλουμένη Σιελεῦβα, παρα δὲ Ἑλλήσι Ταπροβανῇ*."—Monfaucon, Nov. Coll. Patrum, i., p. 336. The Relations Arabes, Reinaud 9th century: "*La dernière de ces Iles est Serendyb . . . c'est la principale de toutes*," I. v., p. 6. This Salike is formed, according to Lassen (de Tap., p. 10), from Sihala, the Pali form of Sinhala, the home of lions, with sometimes the addition of 'dipa' or 'diba,' *an island*. By the Chinese, Ceylon is called the kingdom of Lions.

¹ "Portus Insulæ . . . esse ad meridiem. Quis dubitet quin iste sit quem Galle vulgo nominant."—Vossius, Observationes ad Pomponium Melam, p. 572.

² De Taprobane, &c., p. 13.

³ It is the chief of the inland towns, the *πολεὺς μεσογειοί* of Ptolemy, and by him designated as *βασίλειον*, the royal residence, while Maagrammon is the Metropolis, *ut supra*. Of Anarajapura, see also a description in Knox's Hist. Relation, p. 11.

⁴ De Taprobane Insulâ, &c., p. 15.

is significant, and almost fatal to the claims of Anarajapura, and, on the other hand, does not affect those of Galle; for Galle formed part of Rohuna, an almost independent kingdom, and one very seldom noticed in the Mahawanso, and then briefly, and only when the necessities of the northern king drove him there for protection or assistance. The country, besides, "from Galle to Hambangtotte, colonized at an early period by the followers of Wijayo and their descendants, had," says Sir E. Tennent, "neither intercourse nor commixture with the Malabars. Their temples were asylums for the studious; and to the present day some of the priests of Matura and Mulgirigalle are accomplished scholars in Sanskrit and Pali, and possess rich collections of Buddhist manuscripts and books."¹ Galle, then, or some other town on the south coast, as answering to the description of Pliny, may have been Palisæmundus.

But, as in the second century after Christ and for a short time, the island was known as Palisæmundus, so three centuries before Christ its inhabitants, according to Megasthenes, were called Palæogonoi.² For this name Lassen accounts by supposing that Megasthenes was acquainted with the Ramayana³ which peoples Ceylon with Rakshasas, giants, the sons of the progenitors of the world, "gigantes progenitorum mundi filii," and Nagas, demon snakes, monsters whom he not inaptly designates as Palæogonoi. But surely Megasthenes, by his "incolasque Palæogonos appellari," does not pretend to describe the inhabitants of the island, but merely to give the name by which they were known, and to give it because it was other than the name of their country. And if he had wished to describe them, would he have chosen a name unknown to the Greek mythology, and which could have conveyed to the Greek mind no clear and definite conception, and this, when there were Titans and giants at hand to whom he might so obviously have likened them? For these and other such reasons, Schwanbeck, objecting to the explanation of Lassen, contends that we must look to some mispronounced native word for the original of this Palæogonoi, and he finds it in the Sanscrit "Pāli-g'anās," *men of the sacred doctrine*.⁴ But as this is an appellation which could scarcely have been given to others than earnest and learned votaries

¹ Ceylon, ii., p. 112.

² Megasthenes flumine dividi, incolasque Palæogonos appellari.—Pliny, *ut. sup.*

³ Res ita videtur posse expediri, ut dicamus, notam fuisse Megastheni fabulam Indorum, quā primi insule incolæ Rakshasæ sive Gigantes progenitorum mundi filii fuisse traduntur,—*ib.* p. 9.

⁴ *Vide* Schwanbeck, on this passage from Megasthenes preserved by Pliny, Frag., Hist. Græc., 412, II.

of Buddha, it is surely not applicable to a people who were not even Buddhists till the reign of Asoka,¹ the son and successor of that Chandragupta, in attendance on whom Megasthenes gained his knowledge of India. But why not take "pāli" in what Lassen states is its original sense,² and the sense in which it was likely to be used at the court of an unbelieving monarch? in the sense of limit, terminus—and then we have "pali-g'anās," men of the limit, men who live at the earth's extremity, India's ultima Thule?

Our ambassadors describe the situation of the island, and the sea which separates it from the continent, and give some idea of its size, population, and fertility, and general features. And we cannot but observe that their statements rarely correct, but rather confirm and even exaggerate, the extravagant views then current, and which the Greeks had borrowed from the Hindus. They reduce its distance from India about 70 miles, from a twenty to a four days' sail, but increase its length, really of 270 miles, from the 7,000 stadia of Eratosthenes³ to 10,000 stadia, or 1,250 miles. They speak of it as a parallelogram, lying with its longest side opposite to the Indian coast, which itself they seem to suppose extended in a line almost parallel to the equator. The villages of Eratosthenes, though they reduce the number from 7,000 to 5,000, they magnify into towns, and to the capital⁴ they give 200,000 inhabitants. They tell, moreover, of a great lake—Ceylon has no lakes⁵—the Megisba,⁶ almost an inland sea, and the source of two rivers, which, as they take, one a northerly and the other a southerly course, necessarily divide the island into two

¹ Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, ii., 245.

² "Notat *pāli* ab origine limitem, terminum, finem, atque amplificato apud Buddhistas sensu, regulam doctrinæ sacræ, contextum traditionum legumque."—Lassen, *de Tap.*, p. 15. How far one would be justified in giving the same sense to Pali in Palisimanta, and thus making Palissemundus, not a specific name, but the name which the people of the continent, and dwelling northward, gave to some great city because of its situation at the extremity of the earth, I leave others to determine.

³ "Eratosthenes et mensuram prodidit, longitudinis vii M stad., latitudinis v M, nec urbes esse, sed vicus septingentos."—Pliny, *ut supra*.

⁴ Literally it is the palace that has this number of inhabitants. "Ac regiam cc mill. plebis," but the text is supposed corrupt, and I take the more probable sense of the passage.

⁵ "Nullum in eâ stagnum," says Vossius, "insignis magnitudinis nedum aliquod cujus ambitus habet cccxxv pass. mill. ad Pomponium Melam," p. 572.

⁶ Megisba. Maha-vapi, *e.g.*, great tank, identified as the Kalawewa tank by Lassen, iii., p. 218, and which he describes as it was after it had been enlarged by Dhatusera, A.D. 459, *vide* Mahawanso, p. 256, and note to p. 11, Index, and not as it was in the time of Pliny.

sections, and thus occupy the place of the great river commemorated by Megasthenes, and identified as the Mahawelli Ganga. Of its fauna they enumerate its elephants, prized and celebrated in the days of Alexander, and the tiger, now unknown to, and never a creature of, Ceylon, but which may be, Lassen is of opinion, the leopard. Its people they describe as a nation of freemen, wealthy and peaceable, industrious, and long-lived, much as the Greeks were wont to describe the Hindus.

In their accounts of the celestial phenomena, with observations which at first startle us, but which on examination prove to be well-founded, we find others not only inaccurate, but inexplicable. Thus they asserted that they saw the Pleiades and the Great Bear for the first time, and yet the former is always, and the latter is at most seasons visible in their heaven. They told, too, of a moon which showed itself only in its second quarter, though in Ceylon the moon shines, and has ever shone, just as everywhere else. But their surprise that in Europe their shadows fell north, and that the sun rose on the left,¹ the contrary of what took place with them, was natural. For with the Hindus, according to Wilford (*Asiatic Res.*, x. 157), north and left, south and right, are identical; and Sir Emerson Tennent explains their remark, "by the fact of the sun passing overhead in Ceylon in his transit to the northern solstice, instead of hanging about the south as in Italy after acquiring some elevation in the horizon."²

They spoke of the laws and constitution of their island. They told of an elected and responsible monarch, who, to be elected, must be, and as king must remain, childless, and whose authority was limited and controlled by an elected council, which was itself accountable to the great body of the people. Now I presume that our ambassadors were the real representatives of a real sovereign. But in a strange land, when men are called upon to give some account of their native country, unknown there, though I can very well understand that they should exaggerate its wealth and power and beauty, and hurry over or suppress its natural and political disadvantages, I believe that in the main their statements will be founded on fact, and that the picture they draw, however highly coloured, will in its more prominent features bear some resemblance to the original. Further, if either in their enthusiasm or in their desire to conciliate admiration, they venture on pure fiction, I conceive that they will necessarily shape their discourse in the one case to their own ideal, in the other to that of their

¹ Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumsk.*, iii. p. 216; but compare Vincent, *Commerce of the Antients*, ii., p. 492.

² Ceylon, i., p. 558.

auditors. But in Ceylon where the king and the priests in turn were absolute, and the crown without any strict law of succession was hereditary, and though often forced out of the direct line, always confined to one family, it is surely altogether improbable that any one, and he, too, the ambassador of such a king, should boast of a constitutional monarchy. And at Rome, and on their way thither, who were the companions of our Singhalese? During their long voyage they associated on terms of intimacy with the freedman of Plocamus and his crew; they feasted probably with the merchant Greeks of Alexandria; and at Rome they were received and welcomed by the courtiers and freedmen of Claudius. And in this degraded society of this degraded age, where could they have heard even a whisper of liberty, and where in talk have acquired for themselves the idea, and for their country the reputation of, a responsible sovereign?

How then account for these statements? From the *Mahawanso* we learn: first, that in the third century B.C. Ceylon was twice invaded¹ by bands of Tamil adventurers, whose chiefs, on each occasion after a victorious war, put to death the native king, and in his place ruled over the northern districts of the island, the first time for twenty-two, the second for forty-four, years. Secondly, that in the second century B.C., seven adventurers of the same nation landed with a great army at Mahattotthe, marched upon Anarajapura, fought and defeated the king, drove him into the Malaya, and for fourteen years held possession of his capital. And thirdly, that about 50 B.C. Tamils were settled in the country, and that a Tamil became the favourite of, and was raised to the throne by, the Queen Anula.² So far the native chronicles. From a Hindu history of Ceylon, of which there is a translation in the *Asiatic Journal*³, we learn that from an early period the northern extremity of Ceylon was occupied by Tamils; that in the year 3300 of the Kali age a daughter of Pandian attended by sixty bands of Wannies proceeded to Ceylon and was married to its king, and that at his desire her companions went northward, and settled at Yaulpanam, now Jaffnapatam, and that subsequently other emigrants from the same part of the continent settled in and occupied the north of the island as far as the Wanny. These Tamils, Sir Emerson Tennent states,

¹ *Vide* *Mahawanso*, p. 127, for the first invasion, B.C. 257; for the second p. 124, B.C. 207; and for the third, p. 203, B.C. 103.

² "Anula then forming an attachment for a Damillo, named Watuko . . . who had formerly been a carpenter in the town."—*Ib.*, p. 209.

³ *Vide* Vol. xxiv., pp. 53 and 153. "This happened 3300 years in the Kali age." . . . And as "in the year 5173 of the age Kali, the king Sangalee making

were ruled by a dynasty of Rajahs who held their court at Nalloor; and he adds that he considers it "possible that Rachias . . . who arrived at Rome in the reign of Claudius may have represented not the Singhalese monarch, but the Rajah of Jaffna.¹ A moment admit that he did, and how would this affect or account for the statements attributed to him? The Tamils were southern Hindus, and, as the great temple on the island of Ramiseram indicates, worshippers of Rama, whom Greeks and Romans would probably identify with Hercules. They colonized and were strictly confined to the northern extremity of the island, and up to the time of our embassy they never seem as a nation to have penetrated beyond the Malaya or to have formed any permanent settlement on the southern bank of the Cydara. Our ambassadors then had probably no opportunities of making themselves acquainted with the real size of Ceylon, and they would eagerly accept the gigantic proportions ascribed to it by Hindu tradition. They would also be ignorant to some extent of the political institutions of the Singhalese, but scarcely to the extent shown in the narrative of Pliny; and we ask therefore whether this elective and limited monarchy might not have been their own? Of their government and political institutions the Mahawanso gives no information. If we study the people themselves, even at this day we find them distinguishable from the Singhalese by qualities which we are accustomed to look upon as the characteristics of a free people, or at least of a people living under known laws. They are industrious, persevering, intelligent, orderly, provident, and have a keen sense of the rights and advantages of property. In their country you meet with no stupendous ruins of palaces or dagobas or artificial lakes, to attest the selfish magnificence and sometimes the far-seeing wisdom of an absolute sovereign. There the villages and cottages

war with the Portuguese will perish" . . . and the Portuguese will rule "till the year 5213, after which the Dutch . . . will govern the kingdom until the year 5795, when on the 6th June, the English will come and govern" (p. 156), we are enabled to ascertain the date of the arrival of the princess. For Rajah Singha was finally defeated, and died of his wounds in A.D. 1592, and as from A.K. 3300 to A.K. 5173, there have elapsed 1873 years, it follows that the princess arrived in Ceylon B.C. 281, or some 30 years before the first Tamil invasion. Again, from A.K. 5173 to A.K. 5213, we have an interval of 40 years, but, as in fact the Dutch had a fort in Cottiar in 1612, or 20 years after the death of Singha, though they were not finally masters of the Island to the exclusion of the Portuguese till A.D. 1658, or 66 years after that event, we must take 40 years as an average. The date given to the English rule is inexplicable, unless as a mistake 5795 A.K. is put for 1795 A.D.—Tennent, II., p. 33.

¹ Ceylon, II., p. 539, note 2.

are neat and clean, and the gardens and fields secured by carefully made and well-trimmed fences; there each village built out in the open has its tank, each farm-house its well, the work of its owner's hands or his predecessor's, and which insures the irrigation and fertility of the lands; there you everywhere meet with something that tells of municipal care or individual exertion, but with nothing that is the work of an imperial will aided by imperial resources.¹

Again, the Pandyan chronicles, though they tell of Sera and Sora wars and their results, contain no notice of any Tamil settlements in Ceylon. And of the three Tamil invasions of Ceylon which had occurred previous to our embassy, and which are recorded by the Mahawanso, we find that the first and third were under the leadership, the one of two, the other of seven, chieftains. We learn further that of the seven chiefs who conducted this last expedition, two after the capture of Anarajapura re-embarked with their booty for their own country; that of the remaining five, one was probably chosen as king, but that after a three years' reign he was put to death and supplanted by his minister, who in his turn suffered the same fate by the same means, until at length five kings had occupied the throne, each one of whom was murdered by his minister and successor, except the last, and he lost his life and capital to the native Singhalese monarch.² Coupling, now, the silence of the Pandyan chronicle with the information, slight as it is, which the Mahawanso affords of the untimely deaths of these Tamil kings, may we not infer that these Tamil invasions and conquests were not national acts, the expression of the national will,³ but rather the exploits of individual adventurers banded together for a special object, and conducted by leaders whom they had elected, and whom they would depose as easily as they elected them? And after these Tamils had been driven out of Anarajapura and back to their old boundaries, with, as the narrative of the Mahawanso presumes, no one among them pre-eminent by his wealth, or birth, or authority, is it not probable that after many a continuous struggle among themselves for a power which was no sooner attained than it was overthrown by the jealousy of former equals, after many a revolution and the assassination of many a king, is it not probable that these rival chieftains, if they wished not their country and themselves utterly to perish, should settle down at length

¹ Tennent's Ceylon, II., p. 542, &c.

² Mahawanso, pp. 203-4.

³ In the geographical description of the Tamil country, Appendix D, II., p. 25, Taylor's Oriental Hist. MSS., Cape Comorin is the furthest southern boundary, and no mention whatever is made of Ceylon.

to some form of government not very dissimilar to that described by Pliny on the authority of their ambassador?

But, again, our ambassadors spoke a language which had never before been heard in Rome, and which the freedman of Plocamus alone could interpret; and with which even he was most probably but imperfectly acquainted. What they told then might easily be misrepresented by the ignorance of the translator, or its purport misunderstood, when it associated itself in the minds of their audience with some previous knowledge or foregone conclusion. In this way the impossible account of the celestial phenomena of Ceylon may be attributed to ignorance of the language, and the story of the supposed Seræ to a misunderstanding. For at this time it was currently reported and believed in Rome that the Seræ on the other side of the Himalaya, or Emodian, mountains, bought and sold without seeing or being seen by the merchants with whom they dealt.¹ Now our ambassadors—and they cited the authority of Rachias' father—told of a people living far off inland between the great river, the Mahavelli Ganga, and the Malaya mountains, who traded much after the fashion of the Seræ.² And this people has been identified with the Veddahs, a barbarous race, who still haunt the wilds and wander amid the forests of Ceylon, and who "by their flat noses, large heads, and misshapen limbs," and the mode in which they carry on their little traffic still attest the general accuracy of Pliny's description. What more natural than that the Romans, who heard of a Ganga and a Malaya in connexion with these strange people, should jump to the conclusion that this Ganga was the Ganges, the Malaya the Emodi or Imai Montes, and the people themselves the Seræ? For for them Ceylon was almost a continent, and had not Alexander looked for the Ethiopians in India? and did not Columbus when he first discovered America believe that he had reached the Indies?

Finally, if we give this embassy to the Singhalese proper, then, if our ambassadors were not guilty of absurd and purposeless falsehoods, which is very improbable, they were grossly ignorant of the size and

¹ Thus Pomponius Mela, III., vii. 10: "Seres . . . genus plenum justitiæ ex commercio quod rebus in solitudine relictis absens peragit, *notissimum*." And Pliny, vi. 20: "Seres mites quidem, sed et ipsis feris persimiles cœtum reliquorum mortalium fugiunt commercia expectant."

² Sir Emerson Tennent, and he may advance the authority of Solinus,—who, says the Delphin commentator: "Plinii verba perperam intellecta in alienam solet torquere sententiam,"—applies to the Singhalese themselves the description I have given to the Seræ, and yet attributes to them a commerce with China, overland by way of India, and supposes it possible that they should have spoken of their fellow-people, as nullo commercio linguæ, I., p. 558.

characteristics of their native land—a conclusion which nothing in their history warrants. On the contrary, the frequent retreat of the Court to the Malaya and Rohona,¹ and the complaint of Gamine,² and the tanks and other great works of the native kings, indicate a knowledge of the island, its size, resources, and general features. If, on the other hand, we take our ambassadors from the Tamils of Ceylon, we then have a story, full of errors it is true, but easily accounted for, and the most extraordinary statement of which, that relating to the Seræ, is capable of the most natural explanation possible.

¹ Whenever driven from Anarajapura the native king retires to the southern kingdom. Thus after the conquest of Elaro we find him and his queen resident at Mahag'amo.—Mahawanso, p. 134. So the queen Anula on the occasion of the invasion of the seven Damilos flees to the Malaya,—*ib.*, p. 204.

² Gamini laid himself on his bed with his hands and feet gathered up. The princess mother enquired: "My boy why not stretch thyself on thy bed and lie down comfortably?" "Confined," replied he, "by the Damilos beyond the river (Mahawelliganga), and on the other side by the unyielding ocean, how can I lie down with outstretched limbs,—*ib.*, p. 136.

ART. VII.—*Additional Notes to Art. II. on Assyrian Inscriptions.* By H. F. TALBOT, Esq.

[Presented December, 1860.]

I BEG leave to send a few *Addenda et Corrigenda* to my paper on Assyrian Inscriptions, which have occurred to me on subsequent consideration. And I have added a fuller explanation of some words which I had omitted for the sake of brevity.

Page 36, line 3 of the Inscription. 'Naram Nabiu' is rather *beloved* by *Nebo* than *colens deum Nebo*. It is the passive of 𐎠𐎢𐎶 'raham' or 'rām' *amare* (Ges. p. 933), the same in Syriac and Arabic. Thus Borsippa is called 'ir narmi su' *the city of his love, or his beloved city*.

Page 37, line 12 of the Inscription, *jussi* is an error of the press for *jussit*.

Page 38, line 1 of 2nd column. 'Tsunnu radu.' I perceive that Sir H. Rawlinson translates these two words, *rain* and *wet*. I was not acquainted with either word, and of course translated differently. But on further examination I have found reason to believe that Rawlinson is right. For I have found a passage in the E.I.H. Inscription (col. IV. l. 58,) where 'tsunnu' appears certainly to mean *rain*. Nebuchadnezzar there dedicates a temple to the god Yem, who we know *was* the deity who presided over the sky and the weather, and the title he gives him is 'Yem mushashnin tsunnu nukhsu in matya,' *Yem who brings by turns rain and sunshine over my land*.

'Mushashnin,' *the exchanger, he who causes a change*, is the participle of the 'sha' or causative conjugation of 'shanan' *to change*, Hebrew שׁנַנּוּ *mutavit* (Ges. p. 1025). The word 'nukhsu' means *sunshine, splendour, &c.*, in many passages;

for example, in the Monolith, l. 52, and Tiglath Pileser, VIII. 28. It bears a certain resemblance to the Hebrew 'natsach' נָצַח *great splendour* (Ges. p. 682).

Compare the passage in Tiglath Pileser, VII. 95, where he says that the temple, 'nutzuku,' *was made bright*. I do not find a word corresponding to 'tzunnu' for *rain* in the other Semitic languages; but 'radu' is frequently used in Hebrew for *falling water*, from רָדַד, as in the passage I have elsewhere quoted. "My eye lets fall ('tarad') streams of water."—(Lamentations of Jeremiah).

The remarks I have made (p. 46) on the word 'tzun,' when it occurs at the beginning of a sentence, are therefore inapplicable to the present passage; although I believe them to be quite correct with reference to the passages there quoted from Tiglath Pileser and the Annals.

Page 38, line 3. 'uptaddiru,' *they were loosen'd, lost, detach'd, &c.*
'Patar' פָּטַר is *to set free, to break a fastening* (Ges. p. 818).

Page 39, line 8. Read 'in arkhi Shalmi' *in the month of Shalmi*.

Page 39, line 11. 'mikitta.' Sir H. Rawlinson (p. 31) supposes this word to stand for 'mikinta,' in which I concur. Similarly we find 'libitti' *bricks*, for 'libinti,' from Heb. 'libnah' לִבְנָה *a brick*. But he refers 'mikinta' to the Hebrew 'makunah' מְכוּנָה which signifies *a base or foundation*. I rather think that the upper part of the building is intended, and I refer the word to the Hebrew 'maginta' מַגִּינָת (Ges. p. 544) *a defensive covering*. The root is 'ganan' גָּנַן *to cover or protect*. Hence 'magan' מָגֵן *a shield*, also any *armour*. And hence an *armed man* is called 'aish magan' אִישׁ מָגֵן (May not this be the meaning of the common Carthaginian name Magon?)

I think therefore it is probable that the 'mikitta' on the Birs Nimroud were some kind of battlements, perhaps in the form of shields.

Page 39, line 17. 'naram' *amatus*; see the note on column I. line 3.

Page 39, line 20. 'dara' is Hebrew דָּר *'dar' ævum, sæculum*.

'shabie' *numerous, abundant*: from Hebrew שָׁבַע 'shaba' or 'shabaha' *abundantia* (Ges. p. 955).

'littut' *children, race, descendants*, from root יָלַד *generare*.

Page 40, line 21. 'sumsut nakiri.' This I would now render *the enslavement or entire subjection of my enemies*. It gives the same meaning however as my former translation, *triumphum super hostes*.

שִׁמְשֻׁת 'sumsut' *servitium*, from שָׁמַשׁ *servus* in Chaldee, Syriac, and Hebrew.

Page 40, line 22. 'yabi' *enemies*, from Hebrew 'ayab' אֵיב *to hate*, and אֹיֵב *an enemy* (Ges. p. 44, who says the word is extremely common in the Hebrew scriptures).

Page 40, line 23. 'itsli' Hebrew 'tsil' or 'tsel' צֶל *tutela, præsidium* (Ges. p. 863).

'mukin buluk shamie u irtsit,' *O creator (or builder) of the vault of heaven, and likewise of the earth!* Compare the passage which I have quoted in p. 96. 'Ninev mukin timin ir.' And as the god Ninev is there said to have *laid* the foundation of the city of Ninoveh, as a builder, so here I think Nebo is said to have constructed the vault of heaven.

Page 42, line 2 of Inscription. I have said here that 'wedib' signifies *conjuncti* or *univi*. For instance, in the 1st volume of the British Museum Inscriptions, plate 38, the king wishing to move a pouderos mass of sculpture, caused the gangs of workmen to pull it all together. He says: 'wedibbu bakhulati' *I join'd the workmen together*. In Hebrew this verb occurs in two different forms, as דָּבַךְ and דָּבַק 'debekh' *conjunct* (Ges. pp. 229, 230). In Hiphil דִּבְּקָה 'dibbikh' *hæere simul fecit*. But the final guttural is dropped in Assyrian, as in 'imu' *it decayed*, from מָכַךְ *to decay*.

Page 46, line 10. 'sutishur' *government*. From this root I would derive 'mustishir' *a governor*, a word of frequent occurrence.

Page 48, line 3. 'surku' is, *give thou!* Another tense of the verb is 'ishruk' *he gave*, 'ishrukuni' *they gave*. The root is, I believe, סָרַח 'sirik' *redundantia*; so that 'ishruk' is properly, *he gave lavishly*, or at least *generously*.

The following remarks apply to the Michaux Inscription:—

Page 56, line 5 of the Inscription. 'Luhu' *sive*; from 'lu' *si*. The same in Hebrew, לָה *si*; and לֹא *si*.

Page 56, line 11 of the Inscription. I would now read this line, 'luhu ana giga weshatzu,' *sive de superficie absindet aliquid*. In the previous line it is forbidden to injure the top of the tablet, where the images of the gods are seen. Then it is forbidden, either to cut off any part of the *surface* ('giga') or to diminish the *lines* of the tablet.

'giga' *a surface*, answers well enough to the Hebrew גִּג 'gig,'

which means (1) *the flat roof of a house*, (2) *the flat surface of an altar*. See Gesenius, p. 195, who considers it to be the same as an Arabic word which he gives, and interprets it *plana superficies rei*.

‘Weshatzu’ from חָצַה ‘khatzeh’ to cut (Ges. p. 362).

Page 58, line 12 of the Inscription. ‘Dusutzu’ and ‘zirsu’ are erroneous. I am not sure how the first and last signs in this line ought to be transcribed, and I will therefore represent them by (X) and (Y) respectively. The phrase will then be: ‘(X) tsu litzukhu, likalliku (Y) su,’ *may they carry off his (X) and may they spoil his (Y)*.

Now this imprecation occurs again in the annals of Tiglath Pileser, VIII. 78, where the gods are invoked to punish an impious king, in these words: ‘(X) guza sarti-su litzukhu, (Y) bilti-su libullu,’ *may they carry off the (X) of his royal throne, and may they destroy the (Y) of his empire*. I would conjecture that this means, ‘may they carry off the gold of his royal throne (or its golden ornaments), and may they destroy the wealth of his empire.’

Now, to return to our Inscription at l. 12 of the 3rd column. Here the great gods are invoked to punish a private individual: ‘(X) tsu litzukhu, likalliku (Y) su;’ which may mean *may they carry off his gold, and may they despoil his wealth*.

Page 60, line 22 of Inscription. ‘Mala’ comes, I think, from Chald. ‘malah’ מָלַה *verbum, sermo* (Ges. p. 576). The construction will therefore be: ‘ili rabi mala in naepa anni,’ *Dii magni [quorum] sermo est in hac tabulâ lapideâ,—the gods named in this tablet*. The omission of the relative *quorum* is remarkable, but the same phrase occurs in other inscriptions.

Page 67, line 10 of Inscription. The Assyrian ‘sharak’ to break, is represented in Hebrew, not only by סָרַח but also in some respects by זָרַח ‘zarak’ (Ges. p. 311).

Page 70, line 7. The word for *ancestor* was not pronounced ‘dusi,’ though written so.

Page 70, line penult. ‘Arlia’ is an error of the press for ‘arha.’

The following remarks apply to the Bellino Inscription:—

Page 83, line 1 of the Inscription. ‘Mikal’ *valor*, i.e. *numerus*. This word may come from Hebrew יָכַל ‘ikal’ *valuit*, which indeed may be the root of the Assyrian ‘kal’ *validus*, in Cuneiform

𐎧𐎶 and 𐎧𐎶𐎵

Page 83, line 2. 'ribitu namdanu,' I have rendered *the illustrious ruler*. 'Namdanu' may come from Hebrew 'meduu' מִדּוּן or 'medin' מִדִּין *great*, as for example מִדִּין אֵל *vir procerus* (Ges. p. 546).

Page 83, line 5. 'sarut la shanan.' Another explanation of this phrase is, *the undisputed sovereignty*, on the supposition that the root is 'shanan' *to fight*, a verb of which we find the T conjugation in 'ashtanan,' otherwise 'altanan,' *I fought*. It is the same as the Hebrew שָׁנָא 'shana' *an enemy* (Ges. p. 965).



Page 83, line 6. For 'ad,' at the end of the line, read 'adi.'

'ashtakan sisi-su.' This very common phrase certainly means *I destroyed his army*, but it has not yet been analysed. We often find it written 'ashkun sisi-su.' 'Ashtakan' is merely the T conjugation of 'ashkun.' The root of this verb is seen in the title which Sargon gives himself of 'Shakin sisi Kumba-nikash sar Nuvaki,' *destroyer of the army of Kumba-nikash, king of the Susians*.

'Shakin' is a sword, if I am not mistaken, so that the king compares himself to a destroying sword. Hence 'ashkun' or 'ashtakan' means literally *I smote with the sword, or I cut in pieces*. But an important question remains, viz., why 'sisi' should signify *an army*? I explain it in this manner: <Y- besides its phonetic value 'si,' has also the numeral value of a thousand, and the plural <Y- <Y- signifies thousands. Consequently the phrase 'ashtakan sisi-su,' literally means *I destroyed his thousands*. Of course, therefore, the word was not pronounced 'sisi'; its pronunciation may have been 'alphi' (*thousands*), but this is uncertain. Compare 1 Samuel, xviii. 7: "Saul hath slain his thousands and David his ten thousands."

Page 83, line 18. 'tamarta' *rich presents*, is a very common word, but I do not find it in the other Semitic languages. I think it is one of the numerous derivatives of 'mar' *to be seen, to shine* (as being *conspicuous gifts*). So 'namar' means *conspicuous*, and is often an epithet of gold (khurassi *namar*).

Page 86, line 49 of the Inscription. I have an important correction to make here. Before the verb 'abbušu' insert 𐤁𐤁 ('ya' *water*). This is distinctly written in the inscription, and I had noticed it in a previous transcription, but afterwards I overlooked it. "During 16 years ('ya' *bbušu*) the water had been dried up by the Sun."

The plural  *waters*, occurs very frequently, but the singular  *water*, is of rare occurrence.

Page 89, line 7. I find that Dr. Hincks had already published the Cuneiform sign for 'tsib,' in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, No. VI. p. 402, July, 1856. The passage had however entirely escaped my observation.

Page 89, line 9. 'aptiu' *I open'd*, Hebrew פָּתַח 'patach' *to open*. But the final guttural of Hebrew words often disappears in Assyrian. So in the Syriac *ܐܦܬܚܐ*, *be thou opened*, which is found in the Greek New Testament (Mark, vii. 34). However, since פָּתַח 'pata' also signifies *to open* in Hebrew, 'aptiu' may correspond with that verb rather than with 'patach.'

Page 90, line 14 of Inscription. 'mirani' *a young man*, also *the young of any animal*.

'zakri' *gallant, heroic*. Another form is 'zikaru' (see l. 4 of this Inscription, 'zikaru gardu'). The root is Hebrew זָכַר 'zakar' *masculus*.

Page 94, line 31 of Inscription. 'in tamisu' is the correct reading, and therefore the conjecture given in the text must be discarded: especially as the phrase sometimes occurs in the singular 'in ta su' (see the inscription of Shamas Phul.)

Page 94, line 31 of Inscription. 'Basu' is an obscure word. The text, more carefully examined, appears to read 'kalbasu:' but this verb is unknown.

Page 100, line 50. 'Kattiti.' The word is found in Gesenius, p. 382, חָתַת 'khatat' *broken*. Also כָּתַת 'katat,' p. 510, has the same meaning.

Page 100, line 53. Another etymology of 'adir' *worship*, may be suggested, viz. עָתַר 'atar' (Ges. p. 807) *incense, sacrifice, or prayer*.

ADDENDA.

Page 36, line 2 of Inscription. I have translated 'itut kun' *unitus firmè*. A similar construction is found in the E.I.H. Inscription (V. 27), where the king says he built a wall, *joined to the wall his father built* 'itat kar khiriti-sa

Page 37, line 18 of Inscription. 'Ashdakkan' *I made bright*. Com-

pare the Syriac 'daka' דכא *purus* (Schaaf, p. 114), which may have been 'dakan' in Assyrian. In the E.I.H. the king says he finished his palace, 'ta dakim' on a festival day (*die fasto, vel puro*). I believe 'ashdakkan' to be a word entirely different from the common verb 'ashtakan' *I established*, which is the T conjugation of שכן.

Page 44, line 10 of Inscription. Rawlinson remarks (p. 29) that 'enu' and 'ninu' are different forms of the same word. This appears to be the case. But I think that both words signify *favour*. 'Enn' agrees nearly with the Hebrew 'hin' הין *favor, gratia* (Ges. p. 336), and also with הן 'han' or 'hen,' of same meaning. The root is חנן 'hanan' *to favour*. And of this root a Niphal form נהן 'nehin' or 'nehin' *to be favoured or pitied* is found (Ges. p. 355), which explains the Assyrian form 'ninu' (*favour or mercy*) in a satisfactory manner. Hence the verb 'weninu' *I showed them favour, I had mercy on them*.

It is hardly necessary to observe, that 'enn' is sometimes a conjunction or adverb, meaning *when*. This is the Hebrew ון.

Page 45, line 20 of Inscription. 'Nisikti' *precious stones*. Compare root נצח *splenduit*, in Hebrew and in Syriac (Schaaf, p. 357), 'nasika,' fem. 'nasikta' *splendidus, clarus, nitidus, &c.*

Page 45, line 27 of Inscription. For 'bit-tas 7 ki' I would now read 'bit-tal 7 ki.' This Cuneiform sign often has the value 'tal' (as in 'it-tal-la-ku' *he advanced*). And the parallel passage in E.I.H. (III. 67) describing the rebuilding of this very temple, calls it 'bit-talmi 7 ki' *the very old or ruinous temple of the seven planets*. 'Talmi' תעלמה is probably *vetusta* or *sæcularis*, from Chald. עלמה 'alma' *sæculum*, being feminine to agree with 'bit' or 'beth' *a temple*. But in the Birs Nimrud Inscription 'talmi' was written 'tal' for brevity, and thus became difficult to recognize. The Assyrians very often wrote only the first syllable of a word, to save themselves trouble and gain space in the inscriptions. The above form 'talma' תעלמה is found in Hebrew (Ges. p. 1063).

Page 47, line 4 of Inscription. I have translated 'kum' *a mound*, deriving it from קום. I rather think, however, that in many passages it represents the Hebrew חומה 'khuma' *a wall*; see the word in Gesenius, p. 325.

Page 54, line 3 of Inscription. 'Killi' signifies *vir probus, honestus*

from חַיִּל *virtus, probitas* (Ges. p. 335). The name is somewhat doubtful but not improbable.

Page 55, line 14 of Inscription. I think this city was built by some very ancient king of the name of Sargina. I find an old king Sarzina in an Inscription of Pul, and this I take to be the same name. I think both forms of the name mean *rex armatus* or *rex armorum*, because we find that *arms* were called 'gina' in Hebrew, but 'zina' in Chaldee and Syriac, a mere permutation of similar letters. Schaaf, Lex. p. 146, for the Syriac word.

Page 56, line 11 of Inscription. I think that חֲצֶזֶה 'khatzeh' was pronounced 'shatzeh' in Assyrian, of which permutation of sounds there are many examples, as 'wesharim' *I dedicated a thing to a deity, I devoted it wholly to him*, from the Hebrew חָרַם. There are a thousand examples of this change of sound in French and Greek, as *charme* from χαρμα, &c.

Page 83, line 6 of Inscription. Of course 'ashkun' *I fix'd up, I establish'd* (in Hebrew שָׁכַן *collocavit*), is a totally different word from 'ashkun' *I destroyed*. They both become 'ashtakan' in the T conjugation, and are written in the same way, so that they are very liable to be confused.

Page 83, line 8 of Inscription. 'yekrup' *conflict*, is probably to be derived from 'kereb' קָרַב *prælium, bellum*.

Page 104, line 4 from bottom. That 'Nabiu-shadu-ussur' meant *Nabo protect my crown, or my royalty*, is further probable from a passage in E.I.H. (IX. 27), where the king describes the building of a magnificent palace, and says 'kima shadim wevalla riesha-sha.' *I finished its summit like a crown*. For the word 'wevalla' see Birs Nimrud, col. I. 26.

ART. VIII.—*Some Observations on the Manners, Customs, and Religious Opinions of the Lurka Coles.* By the late Dr. WILLIAM DUNBAR, H.E.I.C.S.

[Read 19th January, 1861.]

THE Coles inhabit a great extent of country. In former times they possessed the whole of Chota-Nagpore, which may now be said to be divided between them and the Dhangars or Ouraons, who came from Rotasghur. The chief men in most of the villages are still however of the old Moonda or Cole tribe, and they do not intermarry with the Dhangars. The greater part of Singhboom is inhabited by Coles, and we find them numerous in Bamanghotty, and dispersed to the vicinities of Cuttack and Midnapore. The Lurka Coles, as they are termed, inhabit those extensive tracts as yet but little known, which go under the name of the Colekans. Part of these wilds is situated in the Singhboom district, and the inhabitants pay a nominal obedience to the Maharajah of that province, but the greater proportion of this population is more under the influence of the Rajah of Mokrurj than of any of the other powerful chiefs in that part of the country. But even his orders are obeyed only where they are supposed to tend to the advantage of the Coles themselves. Upon the whole it may be said of this singular people that, living in a primeval and patriarchal manner under their Moondas and Mankies, they have managed to preserve a sort of savage independence, making themselves dreaded and feared by their more powerful and civilized neighbours. They have always been ready to fly to arms at the call of any enterprising and desperate adventurer. It is well known that the famous rebel Gunganaram, when his own forces were broken and destroyed by the troops of Government, found refuge among the Lurka Coles, and prevailed upon them to espouse his quarrel. Had he not been cut off in his first action with the Thakoor of Kirsawa, there is no saying how long he might have defied our arms in the wilds and jungles of Colekan. The Colekan is divided into different peers, as they are

termed, or pergunnahs. These peers are, generally speaking, not of any great extent, two or three moderate marches carry you through each of them. There can be little doubt, and such I believe is the tradition among the people themselves, that the Lurka Coles came originally from Chota-Nagpore, and are descendants of the old Moondas or Moondarees of that district. Finding the romantic hills and vallies of Chota-Nagpore too confined for their increasing numbers, and stimulated, perhaps, by the desire of plunder, or by that wandering propensity characteristic of many savage nations, they emigrated long ago, and now form a distinct and powerful tribe, living in a barbarous condition in a country still more rude and mountainous than that which their forefathers abandoned. The same cast of countenance prevails in the two races, though, perhaps, tinged with a wilder and more fierce expression in the Lurkas. The Ouraons, who inhabit great part of Chota-Nagpore, regard these Coles as a tribe inferior to themselves, and do not intermarry with them. The villages in the Colekan are ruled by Moondas and Mankies, as in Chota-Nagpore. The former, the Moonda, is the proprietor of one village; while the latter holds six, eight, or twelve. These village potentates used frequently to wage fierce war with one another, and bitter and long existing feuds have often prevailed amongst them. There is this peculiarity in the Cole character, however, that serious and bloody as may be the domestic quarrels, no sooner are they threatened with hostilities from without, than all their animosities are laid aside and forgotten for a time, and they join unanimously to repel the expected danger. It appears to have been their constant aim to keep themselves as distinct from other tribes as possible, and, with the exception of a few low caste Hindoos, such as those inhabiting Jugernathpore, these districts are possessed by Coles alone. The population appears to be rather numerous, though some parts of the district are by no means so densely inhabited as others. Where we fall in with a large river or a full running stream, there the villages are thickly clustered together. In many places water is exceedingly scarce. The Coles have not yet learned the simple art of digging tanks, or rather perhaps they are too indolent and lazy to set about doing so. The very few diminutive tanks seen were in the vicinity of villages partly inhabited by Hindoos, and these contained a miserable supply of foul and ill-tasted water.

The villages are generally built on some elevated spot surrounded by trees, and, at some little distance from the principal entrance to the villages, the Cole standard or ensign, a pair of buffalo horns, is suspended in a conspicuous situation. The mode of building is some-

what different from that commonly practised in Chota-Nagpore, where the huts are built of mud. Here the people build after the fashion called "wattle and dab," using at the same time a number of strong timbers in the erection of each individual hut. In this way the new lines at Chaibassa are built, and they appear to be strong, and likely to stand for many years. The method in which the Coles lay on the chopper of a hut is also ingenious and neat. I may add that these men are by no means inexpert carpenters, after their own fashion, using the small adze, almost the only instrument they employ with no little skill and dexterity.

Cultivation and agriculture appear to be at the lowest ebb in the Colekan. Scarcely anything but *dhan* is raised, and the fields in which it is sown are so small, ill-formed, and to all appearance so badly attended to, that abundant crops are, I suspect, of rare occurrence. Immense tracts of fine land have been for ages covered with the old forest trees or with dense and shrubby jungle, and no attempts seem to have been made at any time to clear the soil, the Coles contenting themselves with the few open patches which are found near their villages. I was particularly struck, when marching through some of the peers, with seeing extensive pieces of ground consisting of that rich black soil which is said to be so favourable for the cultivation of cotton (*kootn*). In these places the jungle was always more than usually luxuriant. Some few of the inhabitants cultivate an inferior kind of cotton plant, and a few weavers prepare the scanty clothing worn by either sex. In some Cole villages a little sugar-cane is grown, and some tobacco (*jookool*), an article highly prized, in the shape of raw green cheroots. In years of want and famine it was the custom with this wild and savage people, when their own scanty resources and supplies were exhausted, to proceed in armed bands and carry off plunder from the territories of their neighbours, not unfrequently committing many atrocities in their progress.

In regard to *dress*, that of both sexes is alike, a strip of cloth brought round the loins and passed between the thighs forming their only covering. The women wear a profusion of coloured beads suspended from their necks, and have their ears pierced with a number of small brass rings. Their diet is of a very promiscuous nature; everything almost that can be considered eatable being relished by them, and much of what we consider carrion being eagerly sort for and devoured. In this respect they do not differ from the Coles of Chota-Nagpore. They are greatly addicted to drunkenness; all, from the Mankie to the poorest villager, drink their intoxicating liquids on every occasion, and it is no uncommon thing to see a whole

village in a state of brutal intoxication. It has frequently been remarked with wonder what an enormous quantity of ardent spirits a Cole can drink without apparently being in the least affected. The Coles have not the slightest idea of the use of money, all their simple transactions being carried on upon the principle of barter. Thus, if a man should wish to purchase a cow, he offers so many gonts or so much rice in exchange. In preparing a temporary hut at Chaibassa, in Goomla Peer, I was compelled, on the refusal of the labourers to accept pice or rupees, to pay them in rice, an article which at that time could not be very well afforded. These men showed no small degree of acuteness in making their bargains, and always took care to see that their daily allowance was fairly supplied to them. Almost the only sort of property which the Coles can be said to possess consists in their large herds of cattle and buffaloes, which are sent to graze in the jungles. The breed of horned cattle is the same as that met with in Chota-Nagpore. The malady, called by them "rôgh," which proves so fatal in the latter province, extends its ravages among the cattle here also ; and I am informed that a few years back great numbers were swept away by the pestilential scourge. Pigs, gonts, and a few sheep constitute the remainder of the domestic animals usually found in the villages. Of wild animals, we find the tiger, leopard, hyena, and wild buffalo, infecting the jungles. Bears are met with in many of the hilly places, and the mountain ranges are traversed by that noble animal the gour. The deeper rivers are haunted by alligators of considerable size.

The religion of the Lurka Coles is nothing but a superstition of the grossest kind. Their great divinity is the sun (suruj), next to the sun ranks the moon (chandoo), and then the stars, which they believe to be the children of the latter. They uniformly upon solemn and great occasions invoke the sun, and by him many of these lawless men have, at times, sworn allegiance to the Honourable Company. Another form of oath used by them is that of swearing upon a small quantity of rice, a tiger's skin and claws, and the earth of the white ants' nests ; implying, that should they violate the engagement they are about to enter upon, they deserve to have their crops and fruits destroyed, and to be themselves delivered up to the most ferocious of the jungle monsters. Besides the sun and moon, other inferior divinities are supposed to exist, to whom the Coles offer up sacrifices of various kinds. These spirits are supposed to inhabit the trees and topes in and around the village. We could never ascertain distinctly what degree of power was attributed to these Penates, as we may call them ; but the belief the Coles entertain of the power and influence

of the Bhongas must be considerable, as they will on no account allow those trees to be denuded of their branches, and still less cut down. My own coolies, natives of Chota-Nagpore, were driven from a *tape* where they had begun to fell wood for my own use, by a party of exasperated villagers, who alleged that the Bhongas, expelled from their habitation, would infallibly wreak their vengeance upon the villagers themselves. The Lurka Coles believe strongly in witchcraft; and this belief, so common among all savage nations, often leads them to the commission of the most dreadful crimes. The customs of the Coles regarding the inheritance of property is singular, and was first explained to me in the case of a Mankie, as he is termed, whose villages are contiguous to the cantonments of Chaibassa. Although he ruled over a considerable number of these, and was reckoned a powerful man among his class, I was surprised to find that his house was a small and poor one, and that his younger brother resided in the largest building in the place, which had formerly belonged to the deceased Mankie, his father. On enquiry, I found that on the death of the parent, the youngest son uniformly receives the largest share of the property strictly personal; and hence the Mankie, though he succeeded to his father's authority and station as a patriarchal ruler, was obliged to resign all the goods and chattels to his younger brother. The Coles now show no unwillingness in times of sickness to put themselves in the hands of European medical men, and they take freely whatever medicines may be administered to them. The confidence indeed which this poor and barbarous race repose in British faith and skill, is only equalled by their dread of our power and greatness. In time of sickness they have recourse to prayers and sacrifices, and they place more confidence in the latter than in any of the few and simple drugs with which they are acquainted. In proportion to the severity of the disease, or the aggravation of the symptoms, are the extent and costliness of the sacrifices. Thus, in case of trifling ailments, fowls are sacrificed; in cases of pestilence or severe fevers, bullocks and buffaloes.

It is the universal custom in the various villages, that when a woman is seized with the pains of labour, she is immediately removed to a lonely hut, the door is shut upon her, offerings of various kinds are suspended near it to propitiate the Bhongas, and no one ventures near till all is over. The female sex, it may be observed, is not kept secluded and shut up, as is the case with the Hindoos and Mussulmans; they mingle freely with the men, and even join them in council. The Coles are said to behave in a very kind and affectionate manner to their wives and female children.

Not amongst the least singular of the customs of the Coles is that connected with their marriage. When a youth has fixed his affections on a female, generally the inhabitant of some neighbouring village, she is waylaid and carried off to his house by himself and his friends. So soon as information of this reaches the parents of the girl, they proceed to the village of the ravisher, not, however, in general, with any hostile purpose. Interviews take place between the friends on either side, and at length matters are brought to a final settlement; the new husband paying to the father of his spouse a certain number of cows, goats, or buffaloes, according to his means, or the beauty and comeliness of his bride. After this a scene of feasting and intoxication generally follows, in which women and children as well as men participate.

The Coles burn their dead, carefully collecting the bones and ashes, and burying them with offerings of rice in or near their villages, placing perpendicular or horizontal slabs of stone over each particular grave. These grave-stones form a remarkable object, and strike the eye of every stranger on approaching a Cole village. The only weapons used by the Coles, whether in war or hunting, are the bow and arrow, and the tulwa, or axe. From their earliest years boys are taught the use of the former; and of the strength and skill with which they shoot I have heard many remarkable instances.

The language of the Coles of this part of the country differs a good deal from that spoken by the men of Chota-Nagpore. It is needless to remark, that it is totally distinct from any other tongue spoken by the different tribes of India. It is not a written language; not a single letter of it is known. In fact, even the traditions of this singular and aboriginal race are most vague and uncertain. They have lived from time immemorial almost totally secluded from all intercourse with their civilized neighbours, allowing no stranger to occupy their soil, and only known to the tribes in their vicinity by their repeated and daring inroads, and their savage and ferocious character. The most powerful of the various chiefs, whose territories they have at different times plundered, have never had courage to pursue the Coles to their fastnesses, but have uniformly acted on the defensive; and though in the last expedition against them no active opposition was met with, it is well known that, in former years, they have shown considerable resistance to the troops of Government. It is to be hoped that a better state of things has now been established, that the Coles will gradually be weaned from their savage and predatory pursuits, and that the blessings of civilization will make sure progress among them.

The country around Kirsawa and Seraikela, belonging to the Thakoor of these places, is, on the whole, well cultivated, and tolerably productive. Advancing from Kirsawa, you cross the Sunjai river, always a beautiful stream, and here is the boundary of the Thakoor's territory. Beyond is the Colekan. The change in the appearance of the land is now very striking: scanty patches of cultivation here and there meet the eye—all else is a barren rocky waste, or a bushy jungle. The people have a wild peculiar appearance, which it is not very easy to describe. Their scanty clothing, strange manners, and more strange language, soon convince you that you are among a race of savages.

Much the same sort of country prevails until you reach Chaibassa, in Goomla Peer, where a cantonment has recently been established. Three or four marches take you to Burrunda Peer, to the south, the most restless and disturbed part of the Colekan, and, it may be added, perhaps the most inaccessible. The jungle here is very dense, and consists of both tree and bush jungle. Some parts of the Peer are hilly, but the soil, generally speaking, though sometimes stony, is rich and good; it is a deep jet black. The vegetable debris appears to have mixed well with the original mould; and the wild luxuriance of the jungle sufficiently proves, that were it once cleared away, the soil could soon, and with little trouble, be adapted for many agricultural purposes. Judging of the Colekan from those parts of it traversed by the troops on the march, we should call it a hilly country. Several extensive hilly ranges were met with, many not laid down in the maps, and those which had a place in them inaccurately described. These chains ran in various directions, were of different forms, though most of them assumed what by geologists is called the "round-backed formation," and appeared to be composed of a variety of rocks. One remarkable chain is the Singh-āsan, about 800 feet high, bold, steep, and nearly precipitous on one side, gently sloping and covered with jungle on the other. A rough examination of the Ghaut, where we crossed this range, showed it to be composed mostly of a coarse conglomerate, containing much quartz; a second and smaller chain of hills behind the Singh-āsan, and near the village of Pungwa, consisted chiefly of rock slate. The Burkola hills, distant six miles from Chaibassa, stretching at first pretty nearly north and south, and then, under the denomination of the Ragree hills, trending away to south-west, are already famous for the dreadful storms which come sweeping over their summits. They are about 700 feet above the plain, and are cleft in many places into picturesque hollows and ravines. One detached portion of this chain which I visited was mostly composed

of masses of hard greenstone, having a conchoidal fracture, and frequently giving a metallic ring when struck by the hammer.

Besides these, and other mountain chains, there are, as in Chota-Nagpore, numerous smaller isolated hills, scattered as it were over the face of the country. Quartz abounds everywhere, sometimes lamellar, sometimes crystallized, sometimes having numerous hollows and veins filled with ochrous earth, iron ore, and occasionally copper pyrites. Lime is found near Chaibassa and elsewhere. Iron in the kankar shape, and in a much purer form, abounds ; indeed, a great proportion of the rocks in many tracts in the Colekan seem to be highly ferruginous. It is reported, and I believe correctly, that some of the precious metals, and more rare minerals, are to be found in some parts of the Colekan. There can be little doubt that the geologist would find an ample field for study and observation in these unexplored regions. Passing through the country rapidly as I did, at a time when it was unsafe to wander to any distance from camp, all I could do was, to collect specimens of the different rocks composing some of the hilly chains and beds of nullahs, most of which, I regret to say, were lost on the road to Dorinda.

ART. IX.—*On Manetho's Chronology of the New Kingdom.*
By the Rev. EDWARD HINCKS, D.D.

[Read 15th December, 1860.]

So many attempts have been made to restore the original chronology of Manetho from the list of kings which have been transmitted to us, on his authority, by Africanus, Eusebius, and others, that it will naturally be considered presumptuous in any one to make a new attempt. And yet, even as respects the new kingdom, the attempts that have been hitherto made, are very unsatisfactory; and we find them to be at variance both with the chronology of the Assyrian Inscriptions, of Ptolemy's Canon, and of the 2nd Book of Kings,—all of which are in perfect harmony with one another. Even so late as the 25th, or Ethiopian dynasty, we find Lepsius and Bunsen opposed to one another. The cause of all these failures,—for such I consider all the attempts at restoring the true chronology which have hitherto been made to be,—I believe to be an unsound method of criticising the lists that have come down to us; and I ascribe the success, which I flatter myself I have attained, to my proceeding in a way which, so far as I am aware, is wholly new.

I will begin by explaining the difference between my method and the former ones. My predecessors employed but a single criticism, while I have employed a double criticism,—one conducted on the same principles as that of my predecessors, but the other, which is preliminary to this, being conducted on a totally different principle. They have assumed that the persons who have extracted from Manetho the lists of kings in the different dynasties, misapprehended Manetho's meaning; they have endeavoured to correct his errors, and to restore the true chronology by comparing the lists with the facts respecting the different dynasties which are established by monumental evidence. I agree with them as to this being the proper course if we had the lists of kings in the different dynasties as they were drawn up by the original Extractor; but what I hope to be able to establish is, that the lists which have come down to us are very different from what the original

Extractor drew up, and that a criticism which is independent of monumental evidence, and founded on the different chronological systems that were maintained by the early Christians and the Jews, must be employed in the first instance, in order to obtain the genuine lists of the Extractor from Manetho. I accordingly propose to myself two objects:—first, to restore the genuine lists of the Extractor from Manetho, in doing which I disregard monumental evidence, having regard solely to evidence furnished by the lists themselves, and to the chronological schemes of those by whom the lists were transmitted to us; and secondly, having recovered the genuine lists of the Extractor, to correct his mistakes, as well as those of Manetho himself, from the monumental evidence.

In the present paper I will confine myself, for the most part, to dynasties, making no attempt at determining the dates of the accessions of particular kings prior to the 23rd dynasty. The dates which I will give, whether as those of the lists as they existed at different periods, or as restored by myself in my first criticism, are always intended to represent the Egyptian year, which was counted as the first of a reign or of a dynasty. These Egyptian years I count *from* Nabonassar (A.N.), or *before* Nabonassar (B.N.); and to each of these years I add the date of its first day in the proleptic Julian (or rather Augustan) year, as commonly used by chronologers. I begin with giving the list attributed to Africanus by the Syncellus, with some marginal notes of a chronological character:—

						B.C.
18th dynasty lasted	263 years	..	..	B.N. 920	(16 Oct.	1667).
19th	209	..	Troy taken at its close	657	(9 Aug.	1404).
20th	135	..	..	448	(20 June,	1195).
21st	130	..	..	313	(15 May,	1060).
22nd	120	..	..	183	(13 April,	930).
23rd	89	..	Olympiads begin with it	63	(14 March,	810).
24th	6	..	990 years	A.N. 27	(20 Feb.	721).
25th	40	..	..	33	(18 Feb.	715).
26th	150	..	..	73	(8 Feb.	675).
27th	..	..	..	223	(2 Jan.	525).

Total .. 1142 years.

Diodorus says that Amasis died, and Cambyses conquered Egypt in the 3rd year of the 63rd Olympiad, which began in the summer of 526 B.C. It is therefore possible that all the above dates should be thrown back a year.

Now, though the Syncellus attributes the above list to Africanus, it is certain that, as it stands, it is not his; because in page 148 D., the Syncellus quotes from Africanus a statement that Moses, *i.e.*, the Exodus, was 1235 years before Cyrus; and, as he allowed 31 years to Cyrus,

the Exodus was consequently 1266 years before the accession of Cambyses, and about 1272 before the conquest of Egypt. We know also that Africanus placed the Exodus 110 years earlier than the Syncellus himself did, and the latter placed it 20 years earlier than the early Christians did; so that Africanus threw it back 130 years, rejecting the generation of the second, or post-diluvian, Cainan, while he made the whole interval between the Creation and the birth of Christ 5500 years, as all the early Christians before Eusebius did. The 130 years taken away before the Exodus were added by Africanus, partly to the interval between Joshua and Samuel, and partly to that between the capture of Jerusalem and the death of Cyrus, so that Africanus would have added the whole of the 130 years in question to the interval between the Exodus, or (according to him, and all the early Christians before Eusebius, as well as according to Josephus) the accession of the 18th dynasty and the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses. It is evident from this that the list given above is not that of Africanus, but of some anonymous corrector of his who, knowing that Africanus had placed the Exodus 130 years too early, determined to correct his mistake. It appears that he did so in the simplest manner possible, by striking off 130 years from the duration of the 18th dynasty; for Josephus expressly states, more than once, that the kings of the 18th dynasty reigned 393 years,—exactly 130 over the number assigned to them in the above list. I accordingly restore the list of Africanus by substituting, for the 1st line in the above list,—

18th dynasty, 393 years . . . B.C. 1050 (15 Nov. 1797 B.C.)

But that this list was falsified by Africanus, through the addition of the 130 years which he added to the interval between the Exodus and the conquest of Cambyses, there can be no question; for St. Clement of Alexandria states that the Exodus took place 345 years before the canicular cycle commenced, that is, before 1322 B.C., and consequently in 1667 B.C. Yet the length of the 18th dynasty is fixed by the testimony of Josephus. It seems, therefore, that Africanus added 130 years to the interval between the accession of the 19th dynasty and the conquest of Cambyses; and we have to enquire to which dynasty or dynasties he added it.

It seems evident, in the first place, that he added nothing to the 22nd dynasty, or to any of those that followed it. The 22nd dynasty must have commenced before the death of Solomon, and it is quite inconsistent with Biblical chronology to suppose that this happened as late as 930 B.C., the date given above. The lengths of the dynasties after the 21st are too short as they stand, and we cannot reasonably suppose that Africanus found them still shorter than they are.

Neither is it likely that he added anything to the 21st dynasty, of which all the kings are enumerated, with reigns of very moderate extent. On the other hand, there are suspicious circumstances about both the 19th and 20th dynasties. In the 20th no king's name is mentioned. The reigns, instead of being given separately, are lumped together, and it would be very easy to alter the gross sum. In the 18th dynasty we have four consecutive reigns made to last 192 years, or perhaps 197 years, if a reading, which appears in itself probable, be adopted. This would be a circumstance unparalleled in authentic history; and although part of the 130 years may have been added to the 20th dynasty, I cannot doubt that the larger part of it was made to swell out these reigns. I restore, therefore, the list as it existed before the corrections of Africanus, in the following manner:—

18th dynasty,	393 years	. . .	B.C. 920 (16 Oct. 1667).
19th & 20th dynasty, 214	„	. . .	B.N. 527 (8 July, 1274).

The remainder as in the list given by the Syncellus.

But is it right to make the accession of the 18th dynasty synchronise with the Exodus? All the Christian fathers, as well as Josephus, thought so, but no one at the present day entertains such an opinion. We know that the date 1667 B.C., was obtained by combining a Biblical number with a Christian tradition. The tradition made the birth of Christ to be 5500 years from the Creation; and according to the Septuagint version, allowing 215 years from the descent of Jacob into Egypt to the Exodus, from the Creation to the Exodus was 3837 or 3839 years. The latter number was that of Demetrius, and is the more correct, but the former was that usually adopted. Christ was born, it was reckoned, four years before the vulgar Christian era, which gives for the Exodus 1667 before that era. It seems to me evident that the synchronism between the Exodus and the commencement of the 18th dynasty was obtained by corrupting the lists which passed under the name of Manetho; and I think I have discovered the precise corrections which were introduced with this object. After the 24th dynasty, we have the words "990 years" remaining in the text of Manetho. They have now no meaning, but if understood as a summation of all the dynasties of the New Kingdom, to the end of the 24th dynasty, we find that this summation would be correct if we only substitute the length of the 24th dynasty as given by Eusebius for that given by Africanus. On the strength of this remarkable coincidence, I do not hesitate to add 38 years to the 24th dynasty. I observe also, that in the 26th dynasty, the commencement of every reign in which is as well ascertained as that of the conquest of Egypt, Africanus has

taken away 10 years. According to him, the first year of Psammitichus was A.N. 94 (3 Feb. 654) whereas it was really A.N. 84 (5 Feb. 664). According to Africanus, and doubtless according to those whom he followed, the commencement of the dynasty was 20 years before this. We must therefore add 48 years to all the dates in the above list, as last corrected, which precede the 25th dynasty, and ten years to the dates of the 26th and 27th; and we shall obtain the list as it stood before it was tampered with by any Christian chronologist:—

					B.C.
18th dynasty lasted	893 years	..	..	B.N. 968	(28 Oct. 1715).
19th & 20th	214	..	..	575	(20 July, 1322).
21st dynasty lasted	130	..	..	361	(27 May, 1108).
22nd	120	..	..	231	(25 April, 978).
23rd	89	..	..	111	(26 March, 858).
24th	44	..	..	22	(3 March, 709).
			990		
25th	40	..	..	A.N. 23	(21 Feb. 725).
26th to Psammitichus	21	..	..	63	(11 Feb. 685).
1st Psammitichus		..	..	84	(5 Feb. 664).

I cannot doubt that the summation 990 is a genuine one; and that it must be preserved inviolate in any subsequent corrections.

I suspect that a correction ought to be made in the length of the 21st and 22nd dynasties. The numbers 130 and 120 are neither of them the sums of the separate reigns, which are 114 and 116. I think it probable that some Jewish chronologist, perhaps Josephus, substituted $130 + 120$, for $114 + 136$, in order to make the accession of the 22nd dynasty fall a little before the death of Solomon, which he probably supposed to have taken place about 995 B.C. This correction is not, however, so certain as those previously noticed. The commencement of the 20th dynasty must be placed immediately after the date of the capture of Troy, according to the Greek chronology used by Manetho, or his Extractor; and the error as to the 23rd dynasty, in the first reign of which the first Olympiad ought to fall, but does not,—is due to the Extractor himself who endeavoured to rectify miscalculations which he falsely supposed to have existed in Manetho's work.

Before proceeding further, I ought to consider the Egyptian chronology of Eusebius. He appears to have had before him both the text of the Extractor, in the form last given before it was altered by the Christian chronologists, and a certain "Old Chronicle," which was also derived from Manetho, being copied by some person, probably a Jew or Christian, who lopped off the early dynasties. I will give the chronology according to these two schemes, which may be compared with that of the Extractor, in the form last given:—

Old Chronicle.			Eusebius.		
		B.C.			B.C.
18th dyn.	348 ..	1002 (3 Nov. 1749).	348 ..	.. 987 (31 Oct. 1734).	
19th "	194 ..	654 (8 Aug. 1401).	194 ..	.. 639 (5 Aug. 1386).	
20th "	228 ..	460 (21 June, 1207).	178 ..	.. 445 (16 June, 1192).	
21st "	121 ..	232 (25 April, 979).	130 ..	.. 267 (4 May, 1014).	
22nd "	48 ..	111 (26 Mar. 858).	49 ..	.. 137 (1 April, 884).	
23rd "	19 ..	63 (14 Mar. 830).	44 ..	.. 88 (20 March, 835).	
24th "	44 ..	44 (9 Mar. 791).	44 ..	.. 44 (9 March, 791).	
25th "	44 ..	A.N. 1 (26 Feb. 747).	44 ..	A.N. 1 (26 Feb. 747).	
26th to Psam.	.. 45	(15 Feb. 703).	39 ..	.. 45 (15 Feb. 703).	

The last date in the above lists is obtained, by taking 39 years before the known date of the accession of Psammitichus. Eusebius, with a view to make the capture of Troy (which he fixed in 1182 B.C.) synchronise with the accession of the 20th dynasty, brought down all the above dates 10 years, diminishing by this period the interval between Psammitichus and Cambyzes.

Now, on examining the above lists with reference to the sum of the 18th—24th dynasties, and with reference to the capture of Troy, or the accession of the 20th dynasty, I find the following very remarkable fact. The sum of the seven dynasties is 1002 in the Old Chronicle, twelve years too great; and in Eusebius it is 987, three years too small—the difference, fifteen years, is *precisely* the difference between the Old Chronicle date and the Eusebian date of the capture of Troy; and what is a still more remarkable coincidence, if we take 12, the excess of the Old Chronicle sum of the seven dynasties over the true sum 990, from the Old Chronicle date of the accession of the 28th dynasty, we have 1195, precisely the same as in the chronology of Africanus. It appears, then, that Africanus divided the 130 years, which he added to the 19th and 20th dynasties, in such a manner as that the old date of the accession of the 20th dynasty should be preserved; that is to say, he added to the 20th dynasty the 48 years which the early Christians had struck off from the 24th and 26th dynasties, and the 82 remaining years to the 19th. Eusebius took off three years probably—indeed, almost certainly—from the 23rd, which, with the ten which he struck off the 26th dynasty, brought the date of the accession of the 20th dynasty from 1195, Manetho's date, to 1182, Eusebius's own. The Old Chronicle added 12 years, and, I will at present suppose, to the same 23rd dynasty—thus making it 19, in place of 7.

I will now give the lengths of the dynasties with the years before Nabonassar, and B.C. when they began, according to the Extractor

from Manetho, before the Christians had tampered with his lists, and from the Old Chronicle, an apparently independent source of information as to Manetho's statements, marking the variations from it in Eusebius's list. These are obtained from the lists handed down to us by a criticism independent of the monuments, and from these I will endeavour to restore the original chronology of Manetho by help of the monuments:—

Extractor from Manetho.			Old Chronicle.		Eusebius.	
		B.N.		B.N.		B.N.
18th dynasty	393	.. 968 (1715)	348	.. 990 (1737)	348	.. 990 (1737)
19th "	127	.. 575 (1322)	194	.. 642 (1389)	194	.. 642 (1389)
20th "	87	.. 448 (1195)	228	.. 448 (1195)	178	.. 448 (1195)
21st "	130	.. 361 (1108)	121	.. 220 (967)	130	.. 270 (1017)
22nd "	120	.. 231 (978)	48	.. 99 (846)	49	.. 140 (887)
23rd "	89	.. 111 (858)	7	.. 51 (798)	47	.. 91 (838)
24th "	44	.. 22 (769)	44	.. 44 (791)	44	.. 44 (791)
		A.N.		A.N.		A.N.
25th "	40	.. 23 (725)	44	.. 1 (747)	44	.. 1 (747)
26th to Psam.	21	.. 63 (685)	39	.. 45 (703)	39	.. 45 (703)
Psam.	..	.. 84 (664)	..	.. 84 (664)	..	.. 84 (664)

In all these lists we have the sum of the first seven periods equal to 990, and the sum of the last seven equal to 531. These fixed sums appear to me to be authentic records of Manetho himself. The two last periods in the Extractor's lists amount to 61, while in the other two lists they make up 83. As they are preceded by an item on which all are agreed, it is pretty evident that there is an error here, which must be rectified independently of anything that precedes the 26th dynasty. It is evident, however, from the Jewish chronology, and from the Assyrian, as compared with Ptolemy's canon, that 725 is the true date of the Ethiopian Conquest. Josiah was killed in B.C. 608, A.N. 140; for Nekao only came to the throne in the middle of his father's 55th year, A.N. 138, and was occupied with his canal for a considerable time before he commenced warlike operations. If we make A.N. 140 the first of Josiah's successor, A.N. 109 will be his own first year; A.N. 107, that of Amon; A.N. 52, that of Manasseh; and A.N. 23, that of Hezekiah, Samaria was taken in his 6th year, i.e., in A.N. 28, B.C. 720; and Hoshea had sent messengers to So, that is, Sabaco, the first Ethiopian king, three or four years before this. He must, consequently, have conquered Egypt before 724 B.C. On the other hand, in 700, the date of Sennacherib's invasion, which is fixed to A.N. 47, the third year of Belibus by the annals of Sennacherib and Ptolemy's canon, we have a king of Ethiopia, who was not king of Egypt, and who is identified with Tirbaka in the 2nd Book

reign of Seti ; when Tirhaka, who perhaps married his daughter, or who was perhaps the son of his sister, allowed the government to be carried on in his name. I believe that this Seti is the king who appears in Lepsius's Königsbuch, No. 618, under the name of Pankhi. The first part of the name is defaced, that of the god, as I suppose, which was defaced out of hostility to him.

If this view be correct, it is probable that the titular reigns of Stephinates and his successors commenced six years earlier than I have above supposed ; so that Nekao I. was killed by the Ethiopians, as is recorded by him, in B.C. 671, his eighth year. The interval between this and the accession of Psammitik I. in B.C. 664 is little enough for the flight of this prince to Syria, and for those events, which are represented by the Greek historians as the retirement of the Ethiopian monarch and the dodecarchy: I observe that there is no proof that Tirhaka entered on his 27th year. He may have retired at the end of the 26th, when his family had ruled in Egypt for 60 years, the following year being one of anarchy. The error in the lists which this implies is, however, to be attributed to Manetho himself.

The interval between the accessions of Petubastes and Bocchoris being 11 years, it follows, that in place of taking 12 years from the 23rd dynasty of the Old Chronicle, I should have taken 8 from it, and 4 from some other, probably the 22nd. This would leave 116 years for the 22nd, which is just the sum of the reigns in the list which the Syncellus gives as that of Africanus. It is certain, however, that this number is far too small. The discoveries of Mariette prove that the interval must have exceeded 160 years, and it may have exceeded it by 50 or 60 years, for anything that appears to the contrary. Again, the soundest modern criticism has fixed the death of Solomon to B.C. 990, 210 years before the accession of Petubastes ; and we knew that Sheshak was king of Egypt for some years before the death of Solomon. The most probable restoration of the true length of the dynasty is 216 ; adding 100 years, which the compiler of the Old Chronicle took from it and added to the 20th.

To bring this out from the Extractor's list, we must first correct the numbers in the 21st and 22nd dynasties, by adding the several reigns. These, in the 21st, make 114, which I consider to be the true length of the dynasty. The 16 years which are in excess here being added to the 22nd, we have for it 136, and in order to obtain 216 we must add 80 years to this dynasty.

It is necessary, however, that no change should be made in the date of the accession of the 20th dynasty, nor in the sum, 990. The former condition will be satisfied if we suppose that the later dynasties

have been altered by Eusebius; 49 in particular was substituted for his 48, because there the reigns given by the Extractor amounted to 49; and he struck off from the 21st dynasty the year which he added to the 22nd.

I will now consider the arrangement of the dynasties from 1195 to the end of the 23rd dynasty. According to our authorities, as corrected above, the numbers stand thus:—

Extractor from Manetho.			Old Chronicle.			Eusebius.		
	B.N.			B.N.			B.N.	
20th dynasty	87	.. 448 (1195)	178	.. 448 (1195)	178	.. 448 (1195)		
21st "	130	.. 361 (1108)	121	.. 270 (1017)	131	.. 270 (1017)		
22nd "	120	.. 231 (978)	120	.. 149 (896)	70	.. 139 (886)		
23rd "	89	.. 111 (858)	7	.. 29 (776)	47	.. 69 (816)		
24th "	44	.. 22 (769)	44	.. 22 (769)	44	.. 22 (769)		

It will be most convenient to begin my criticism on these lists with the 23rd dynasty. The numbers assigned to this dynasty as that of the Old Chronicle may not be quite correct; for the 12 years in which that Chronicle was proved to be in excess of the truth, all of which I took from the 23rd dynasty, ought perhaps to have been in part taken from another. Still it cannot be doubted that the compiler of the Old Chronicle took a different view of the length of this dynasty as given by Manetho, from what the Extractor did whom Africanus followed, though with manifold corrections. The difference seems to me to be this. The Extractor gave the whole length of the dynasty; but the Old Chronicle gave the interval between its commencement, and that of the commencement of the 24th, which reduced the kings of the 23rd to comparative obscurity. They were probably only acknowledged in a small part of the Delta, while Bocchoris and his conquerors the Ethiopians held the rest of Egypt. The commencement of the 23rd dynasty may, I think, be determined with a higher degree of probability from what has been said of Tirhaka. His first year from his father's death was A.N. 45; but in A.N. 57 he first assumed the double crown, calling himself king of Egypt instead of king of Ethiopia. Something must have occurred to induce him to do this; and what is more likely than that it was the death of Zet, Seti III., the last king of the 23rd dynasty. This would make the first year of Petubastes, the chief of the dynasty, A.N. 23 (6 March, 780 B.C.) This is in perfect harmony with the statement, preserved in Africanus's list, that in his time the Olympiads began. Thus, the 23rd dynasty really reigned over Egypt in the beginning of the reign of Petubastes; and again, for the last twelve years of the

reign of Seti ; when Tirhaka, who perhaps married his daughter, or who was perhaps the son of his sister, allowed the government to be carried on in his name. I believe that this Seti is the king who appears in Lepsius's *Königsbuch*, No. 618, under the name of Pankhi. The first part of the name is defaced, that of the god, as I suppose, which was defaced out of hostility to him.

If this view be correct, it is probable that the titular reigns of Stephinates and his successors commenced six years earlier than I have above supposed ; so that Nekao I. was killed by the Ethiopians, as is recorded by him, in B.C. 671, his eighth year. The interval between this and the accession of Psammitik I. in B.C. 664 is little enough for the flight of this prince to Syria, and for those events, which are represented by the Greek historians as the retirement of the Ethiopian monarch and the dodecarchy: I observe that there is no proof that Tirhaka entered on his 27th year. He may have retired at the end of the 26th, when his family had ruled in Egypt for 60 years, the following year being one of anarchy. The error in the lists which this implies is, however, to be attributed to Manetho himself.

The interval between the accessions of Petubastes and Bocchoris being 11 years, it follows, that in place of taking 12 years from the 23rd dynasty of the Old Chronicle, I should have taken 8 from it, and 4 from some other, probably the 22nd. This would leave 116 years for the 22nd, which is just the sum of the reigns in the list which the Syncellus gives as that of Africanus. It is certain, however, that this number is far too small. The discoveries of Mariette prove that the interval must have exceeded 160 years, and it may have exceeded it by 50 or 60 years, for anything that appears to the contrary. Again, the soundest modern criticism has fixed the death of Solomon to B.C. 990, 210 years before the accession of Petubastes ; and we knew that Shoshak was king of Egypt for some years before the death of Solomon. The most probable restoration of the true length of the dynasty is 216 ; adding 100 years, which the compiler of the Old Chronicle took from it and added to the 20th.

To bring this out from the Extractor's list, we must first correct the numbers in the 21st and 22nd dynasties, by adding the several reigns. These, in the 21st, make 114, which I consider to be the true length of the dynasty. The 16 years which are in excess here being added to the 22nd, we have for it 136, and in order to obtain 216 we must add 80 years to this dynasty.

It is necessary, however, that no change should be made in the date of the accession of the 20th dynasty, nor in the sum, 990. The former condition will be satisfied if we suppose that the later dynasties

overlapped one another for 80 years ; but in order to satisfy the latter, we must deduct 80 years from the duration of the 18th dynasty, making it 313 years, commencing B.N. 888 (8 Oct., 1635).

To show how the Extractor from Manetho was led into mistake, I will give the dynasties in question as I suppose that Manetho gave them, with the first and the last year of each, as well as the length.

20th dynasty lasted	87 years	..	..	B.N. 448—362
21st	114	..	..	361—248
22nd	216	..	..	247—32
23rd	89	..	..	33 A.N. 56
24th	44	..	..	22 " 22
25th	40	..	..	A.N. 23 " 62
26th	160	..	..	63 " 222

The Extractor had the lengths of the dynasties, but he did not understand that the reign of Petubastes began two years before that of the last king of the 22nd dynasty ended ; and that, in like manner, the 23rd dynasty overlapped the two following ones by 78 years. He knew, however, that the sum of the above seven dynasties *ought to be* 670 years, in order to bring out the known date of the accession of the 20th ; and finding that the gross sum *was* 750, he struck off the excess from the 22nd dynasty, which he thought could best spare it. As to the places where these hundred years should be inserted in the 22nd dynasty, I can offer nothing positive. It appears to me most probable that the three single reigns which Africanus gave were given correctly ; and that each of the two sums of these reigns which he gives, was diminished, one of them probably by 40, the other by 60 years ; but without further monumental evidence than I have at present before me, I can say nothing further.

As to the 21st dynasty, I cannot help thinking that Lepsius and Bunsen are completely mistaken in supposing it to have consisted of the Theban high priests and their successors. I adopt De Rougé's view, that it was a distinct dynasty enthroned in the Delta, and the last king of it I believe to have been the father-in-law of Osorkon I, No. 565 of the Königsbuch, whose name, Psiukhennu, appears to me to be clearly the Psuseennes of the lists ; for Manetho always used a Σ to express the Egyptian *kh*, which in his time and in his district must have been pronounced *sh*.

It may be thought that 87 years is far too small a space of time to allow for the many princes of the name of Rameses who must be referred to the 20th dynasty. But I reply that it is only meant that they reigned 87 years over the whole of Egypt. The dynasty may have continued as contemporary with the 21st ; and their successors,

the Theban high priests, would be cotemporary with the latter part of the 21st, so that Sheshak would have immediately succeeded these high priests, whose priestly office, as well as whose royalty, he appears to have taken on himself.

I proceed now to speak of the 18th and 19th dynasties; and that the greater part of the 19th was cotemporary with the 18th, or rather consisted of the same kings as are included in the 18th, I hold to be quite certain. The 18th dynasty began with the expulsion of the shepherds by Amasis; and according to the view taken of it by Josephus and others, it lasted so as to include Merinphthah, who was evidently the king in whose reign the shepherds overran the country for the second time. I cannot doubt that it ended with the flight of Merinphthah to Ethiopia.

On the other hand, Rameses I. appears to have been the head of the 19th dynasty, he being descended, in the female line, from the 18th; while the kings of the 18th dynasty, his predecessors, were all descended in the male line, from Amasis. It is remarkable that the 19th dynasty commences with the first year of the canicular cycle (A.N. 575, 20 July, 1322 B.C.) I have long since identified Rameses I., Men-peh-re, with the Menophres after whom, according to Theon, the years of the cycle are called. This name is much more like Men-peh-re than Meri-n-phthah, which so many Egyptologists have supposed it to be. The 18th dynasty, according to the Extractor, was terminated by the second invasion of the shepherds, and the flight of Merinphthah to Ethiopia. The 19th, according to the same authority, lasted to the establishment of a settled government under Rameses III., after the termination of the civil wars which the shepherds found or caused. Thus, if we divide the time from Amasis to Rameses III. into three parts, from Amasis to the extinction of his male descendants, from the extinction to the flight of Merinphthah, and from this flight to the accession of Rameses III., which Manetho fixed to 1195 B.C., immediately after his date of the taking of Troy, we shall have the 18th dynasty, as given by the Extractor, comprehending the two first of these three periods, making up 313 years; and the 19th dynasty, as given by him, comprehending the two last, making 127 years. What we have to seek for is therefore the length of any one of these three periods, which will give that of the other two, and we should then place the accession of Amasis, or the beginning of the 18th dynasty, and of the New Kingdom, so many years before 1322 B.C., as are contained in the first of the three periods.

Now it is
 obvious fu

to me that the list of the 19th dynasty given by
 a means of valuing the two last periods. He

divides it into five reigns, to which he assigns 51, 61, 20, 60, 5, and 7 years, which he says make up 209 years. They really make up only 204, and it has been generally assumed that the second reign should be 66 in place of 61. This being assumed, we have the second and third reigns, $66 + 20 =$ the two last of the 18th dynasty, which, according to Josephus, are $66 \frac{2}{3} + 19 \frac{1}{6}$. I have already proved that Africanus added 82 years to this dynasty. The second and third are what they should be; and the fifth and sixth have certainly not been increased. The additions of Africanus must therefore have been made to the first and third; suppose 42 to the first, and 40 to the third. This would give for the six reigns $9 + 66 + 20 + 20 + 5 + 7 = 127$, which, on the principles laid down, divides itself into 95 and 32; and, of course, the 313 years will be divided into 218 and 95, and the accession of the 18th dynasty will be placed in B.N. 793 (12 Sept., 1540 B.C.) From this to the accession of the 25th dynasty was counted by Manetho 990 years $= 313 + 127 + 87 + 114 + 216 + 89 + 44$; but on account of three overlappings containing $95 + 2 + 78$ years $= 175$ years, the real chronological interval was only 815 years from B.N. 793 to A.N. 28.

There appears an objection to this view, in that it admits only three reigns in the 19th dynasty to the flight of Merinptah, whereas there ought to be four. We might suppose that the first reign comprehended the two reigns of Rameses I. and Seti I.; but there is another explanation of the matter, which I much prefer. It is however, so contrary to received opinions, that I deferred suggesting it till I had prepared the way for it by shewing its necessity. I believe that Manetho did not recognise Rameses I. as king of Egypt at all. I doubt if he was descended, even in the female line, from Amenhotep III., but I believe, that having married the daughter of Horus, he reigned in her right, claiming, however, to do so in his own. So it was with the kings of the 26th dynasty, and probably in other instances. That the reign of Seti I. lasted 9 years is probable, from the circumstance that Josephus gives him 59 years; but $59 + 66 = 125$ for a father and son is out of the bounds of probability. The correction to 9 is the most natural that could be thought of. According to this view, the cycle was called after Rameses I., who instituted it; but its first year was fixed at the commencement of the reign of Seti I., who came to the throne before the commencement of the year had moved a day from its original place. Cycles before this are, of course, only proleptic ones. Residing, as I do, a hundred miles from any public library, where copies of the inscriptions published by Lepsius and others are to be seen, I will make no attempt at dividing the 218

years which I assign to the kings of the 18th dynasty among the several reigns. I will only observe that the absolute date of the reign of Thotmes III., obtained from the inscription at Elephantine, which records the rising of the dog-star, will be found in perfect harmony with this chronology, and so will also the date of the inundation, as indicated by the Scarabæus of Amunhotep III.

I have now travelled back from the list of Africanus, as handed down by the Syncellus, to the original list of the Extractor from Manetho; and from that to the genuine list of Manetho. The result of my criticism will, however, appear more clearly if I proceed in the reverse order. Accordingly, in the table which accompanies this, I give, in parallel columns, the chronology from the establishment of the New Kingdom of Cambyses in seven different forms; first, as Manetho gave the sums of the dynasties, with the overlapping dynasties marked, and with the first and last years of each dynasty noted; secondly, as Manetho was understood by his Extractor, who did not take into account the overlapping of the dynasties; thirdly, as the list stood when the Extractor had corrected (as he thought) Manetho's supposed mistakes; fourthly, as it stood when corrected by a Jew to reconcile it to what he thought the true Hebrew chronology; fifthly, as it stood when corrected by an early Christian to reconcile it with his date of the Exodus, and to do this in such a manner as would bring the commencement of the Olympiads to the first reign of the 23rd dynasty, where Manetho had stated that it should be placed; sixthly, as altered by Africanus to suit his raised date of the Exodus, and to do this so as to bring back the commencement of the 20th dynasty to its true date, as noted by Manetho; and, seventhly, as it was again altered by a corrector of Africanus, who brought back the accession of the 18th dynasty to its former place, but left the beginning of the two next as Africanus had placed them.

I have assumed that the Extractor from Manetho and the Jew are different; but I am inclined to suspect that the Extractor was a Jew, and that the two changes indicated in the third and fourth divisions were made by him simultaneously.

P.S.—On further examination of the lists of kings in the 18th dynasty, as given by the several authorities, I think it more probable that Seti I. reigned only five years, and Seti II. twenty-four. This would increase the length of the 18th dynasty by four years, throwing back its commencement to 1544 B.C. I have made this correction, which only affects the first line in the first division, and the column of years of the new kingdom, in the Table which follows.

Dynasties.	MANETHO, as correctly understood.				MANETHO, as mis-understood by his Extractor.		The Jew.		The EARLY CHRISTIAN.		JULIUS AFRICANUS.		Corrector of AFRICANUS.	
	Years of New Kingdom		The first Year of Dynasty was—		MANETHO, as mis-understood by his Extractor.		The Jew.		The EARLY CHRISTIAN.		JULIUS AFRICANUS.		Corrector of AFRICANUS.	
	First.	Last.	Before or After Nabonassar.	Began B.C.	Last.	Began B.C.	Last.	Began B.C.	Last.	Began B.C.	Last.	Began B.C.	Last.	Began B.C.
XVIII. ...	*813	1	p.n. 797	13 Sept. 1541	313	1715	393	1715	393	1667	393	1797	263	1667
XIX. ...	293	349	p.n. 675	20 July, 1323	127	1323	127	1323	127	1294	309	1404	209	1404
XX. ...	327	350	p.n. 448	18 June, 1195	87	1195	87	1195	87	1147	135	1195	135	1195
XXI. ...	350	437	p.n. 361	27 May, 1108	114	1108	130	1108	130	1060	130	1060	130	1060
XXII. ...	*114	437	p.n. 347	29 April, 994	216	1074	136	994	136	978	120	980	120	980
XXIII. ...	*216	651	p.n. 333	6 Mar. 780	89	780	89	780	89	731	89	810	89	810
XXIV. ...	*89	705	p.n. 323	3 Mar. 769	44	769	44	769	44	731	6	731	6	731
XXV. ...	775	819	p.n. 22		990		990		990		1083		990	
XXVI. ...	819	850	A.N. 23	21 Feb. 725	40	725	40	725	40	715	40	715	40	715
XXVII. ...	850	1019	A.N. 63	11 Feb. 686	160	686	160	686	160	675	160	675	160	675

* The three dynasties thus marked overlapped the following dynasties. The Extractor did not recognise this, and supposing that Manetho had made a false calculation, placing the accession of the 26th dynasty (which immediately followed the fall of Troy) 80 years too early, he struck these from the 22nd dynasty; but in order to maintain the enumeration of 990, he added them to the 18th dynasty.

† This mark is prefixed to those numbers in the lists after Manetho's own which are inconsistent with the three cardinal chronological data given by Manetho.

‡ This marks the three cardinal data, the notes of which are preserved by Africanus. Some one or more of them is inconsistent with every subsequent list. The Extractor had no other motive than to correct what he supposed to be a mistake of his author. The Jew wanted to bring down the date of the accession of the 22nd dynasty to a little before what he supposed to be the true date of the death of Solomon; but the original number is consistent with the date of this event as determined by modern critics. The Early Christian lowered the chronology 48 years, in order to make the commencement of the 18th dynasty synchronous with his date of the Exodus, 1667 a.c. He took 38 years from the 24th dynasty, and 10 from the 26th. Africanus raised the chronology 130 years to suit his date of the Exodus. He added 45 years to the 26th dynasty, thus restoring the true date of its accession, and the remaining 83 years to the 19th, namely, 46 to the first reign and 36 to the fourth. The Corrector of Africanus, disapproving of his date of the Exodus, brought back the commencement of the 18th dynasty to 1667, but he took the 130 years from the 18th dynasty, leaving an means of knowing where Africanus had added them. I consider the chronology of Manetho as given in the first division, to be correct and consistent with monumental evidence, save that he adopted a fiction of the Seleucid kings, dividing the period after the Ethiopian conquest into 40 and 160, instead of 61 and 139.



Chakra of Sukya.
 4 ashimanant and sahakra chakra:
 See Pl II

five are identical with the figures sculptured on the slab, and the lotos ornament also is found on both alike." Again, Dr. Wilson in his *Essay on the Antiquities of Western India*, remarks (p. 49): "Many of the Buddhist figures at Ellora, and elsewhere, are quite intelligible from the papers of Mr. Hodgson."

To much the same effect might be quoted Prinsep, Cunningham, and Kittoe in the *Bengal Society's Journal*, as well as my own two letters in the *Oriental Quarterly Magazine*, No. 14 of 1827, and No. 16 of 1828, on the resemblance of the symbols of Buddhism and of Sivaism, wherein are pointed out, by my old Bauddha friend, in reference to Gāya, and by myself in reference to Java, very many instances of Saugata images having been, with utterly misleading effect, mistaken for Brahmanical gods, from inattention to those significant accessories which are always inseparable from such images. The whole of these in so many ways useful accessories I have therefore brought together, with no little trouble, by causing everything in the nature of a symbol or emblem found on any of the endless architectural, sculptural, or pictorial representations of Saugata fanes and deities, as copied for me in Nepal during my long abode there, to be detached from the temple, or statue, or picture exhibiting any such diagnostic mark, whether as an appurtenance of a deity or (as often happens) as a substitute for one.

As the *Oriental Quarterly*, above referred to, is scarce, I may add that the papers which appeared therein in the years 1827 and 1828, were reprinted in my volume on Buddhism, and will be found at pp. 203-11, and I may remark that the learned old Nepalese Buddhist's notes upon the great temple at Gaya, therein embodied, are exceedingly suggestive, showing how easily and decisively very many so-called Brahmanical images and emblems may be proved to be really Bauddha ones, by careful attention to their minute accompaniments; as, for instance, the eye proper to the 'charan' of Manjusri, or the ashtamangal and sahasra chakra proper to that of Sakya; or the tiny image of Amitabha placed in the forehead of the idols of Padmapani. The last time I passed by Bhagalpur I went to the adjacent ruins of Karnagarh, and found the officiating Brahman at a small faue making puja to what he called an image of Krishna. I silenced and astonished him by pointing to the tiny frontal appendage of the idol, which he had overlooked, just as Crawford had at Borobodur in Java, where, by this and similar oversights, he was led into the most serious errors. All the accessories of a pagan idol are significant; and if, therefore, they are all described, the idol can be safely identified, as I identified those of Padmapani and of Manjusri, at Pagan, in Ava, from

Colonel Yule's descriptions. But such descriptions to be useful must be insufferably prolix, and hence the value of such delineations as tell their own tale at a glance.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.,

BRIAN HOUGHTON HODGSON.

To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

THE RANGERS, Dursley, Gloucestershire,

Dec. 15th, 1860.

SIR,

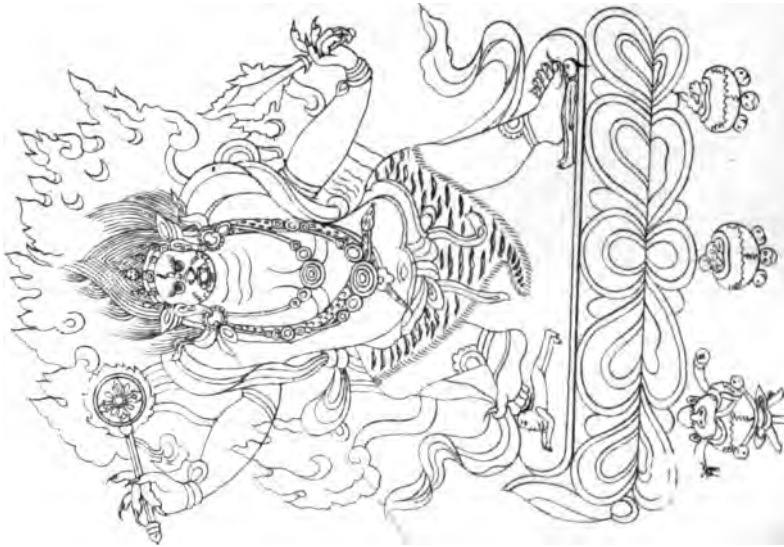
I have the honour to forward to you, for presentation to the Society, five sheets of drawings of Bonpa deities, which were made for me by a mendicant friar of that sect, named I'drophúncho, when on a casual visit to Darjiling, from his home at Ráhhho, near Táchindó. To the above drawings I add (for a purpose which will soon be apparent) a common printed copy of a Tibetan yantra, such as the people of Tibet ordinarily wear about their necks as a charm.¹

De Cörös considered the Bonpas to be the oldest sect of religionists in Tibet. In the Himálaya the name still lingers as the designation of the Exorcist of certain rude tribes, such as the Múrmí and Súnwár, tribes having almost no other religious observances than the mummeries of the said Exorcists. Not much is, I fancy, known of the Bonpa faith; but, as described to me by the Sikim Rája's Vakíl at Darjiling, whose opinion is entirely supported by the character of the drawings now first produced, there can be no doubt it is an integral part of Buddhism, and as such it was unhesitatingly spoken of to me by the Vakíl, who added that the Bonpa Vihárs are still numerous and wealthy in Tibet.

In the Himálaya there is nothing of the sort, nor can the solitary Exorcist of this or that rude and unlettered tribe, himself a member of the tribe and ignorant as his fellows, give one word of information as to the origin of his creed, or why he bears an appellation identical with that of a transhimálayan sect of Buddhists.

The drawings of Bonpa deities made for me by I'drophúncho, without any suggestion on my part, beyond the simple request that he would delineate for me some of the chief deities of his creed, speak for themselves. They are saturated with what we are accustomed to call Saiva and Sáкта attributes; and, without staying to discuss how far

¹ Omitted as very commonly known.



Tala Minbar



Yamjam

BONPA DEITIES.

1

2

3

4

that the triangle in the several forms presented by Mr. Ravenshaw (Plates I and II) is forthcoming among the Nepalese Bauddha symbols lately sent you; that in pp. 125, 126 of my little volume on Buddhism may be seen the Saugata explanation of the triangle, so very like that given to Mr. R. of his; and that many of the large Chaityas which have images of the Dhyáni Buddhas enshrined in niches near their base, one opposite each cardinal point of the compass, have also this "trikonákár yóni," one in each of the four interstitial spaces, similarly as the images enshrined in niches; and avowedly representing the respective Saktis of the four Dhyáni Buddhas in question, or Akshóbbhya, Ratna Sambhava, Amitábha, and Amógha Siddha.¹

At the great Chaitya of Swayambhunáth, to which Mr. Ravenshaw shrewdly refers in the course of his remarks, the triangle thus makes its appearance four times, and there is also at Swayambhunáth a beautiful sample of a Mandala graved in copper on the slightly convex summit of a round pedestal, about breast high, and standing opposite to the Eastern niche, or that which enshrines the image of Akshóbbhya Buddha, at the distance of some six feet from the niche and image.

Mr. Ravenshaw's figures 3, 4, of Plate I., no doubt represent, as he conjectured, and rightly, they might be intended to do, those minute spireless Chaityas, which the Nepalese use for daily worship, or for votive offerings, constructing them of river sand, or of clay, for the nonce, when they happen to have none, or are indisposed to part with any of more permanent and costly sort.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.,

BRIAN HOUGHTON HODGSON.

¹ Each of these celestial Buddhas has appropriate marks, consisting (besides diverse colours) of 1st, the mūdra or position of the hands; 2nd, the váhana or supporters; 3rd, the chakra or cognizance (symbol) placed between the supporters; 4th, fixed position in the Chaityas. Akshóbbhya being always enshrined in the eastern niche; Ratna Sambhava in the southern; Amitabha in the western; and Amógha Siddha in the northern.

ART. XI.—*A Turkish Circle Ode*,¹ by *Shahin-Ghiray, Khan of the Crimea. With Translation, Memoir of the Author, and a brief Account of the Khanate of the Crimea, its Connexion with Turkey, and its Annexation by Catherine the Second of Russia.* By J. W. REDHOUSE, Esq.

[Read 9th March, 1861.]

غزل لشاهین کرای

یار کلوب (عاشقک) منزلی قیلسه جای
ایتمیه می کون (یوزک) دیده سنی روشنای
یانشوب اول ماه (یا) خنجر سر تیز کی
ایلیه اغیارمک (سینه) سنی همچو نای
یان ویروب ای (مهلقا) قاجمه بو غمخواردن
اتش عشقک ایله (یانمغه) کورمه روای
یاور اولور ایسه (اکر) لطف خدا بر قوله
بر پوله محتاج ایکن (دهره) اولور پادشای
یاش دوشوب دیده دن (رویک) ایدر ارزو
قدرت ایله کون (یوزک) اولده شبنم ربای
یاب ره تجریده (عاقل) ایسهک بر رباط
قافله اهل (عشق) ایلیه کاربان سرای
یار سرفراز من (سندّه) اوکوز قاش که وار
قتلی ایچون (عاشقک) یا نه کرک اوق و یای

¹ In this ode, as figured in the separate lithograph plate, the letter at the centre is the first and last letter of every distich; the letters in the radii are the penultimates of each distich, and, read inversely, follow the initial in the next succeeding distich. The words in the intersectional compartments are common to each of the intersecting verses. The ode begins and ends at the centre, through the radius which points directly upwards.

یایوب اوکالک لک کون (یوزک) قیلدک نقاب
 منزل عقیده (یا) منخسف اولش درای
 یار دلرایسه اکر (سینه) مزی قائلوز
 تک بزی اول (مهلقا) لطفنه کورسون سزای
 یاز سمندر کی (یانمغه) طالب کیم
 ای قلم عرض ایت (اکر) دیلرسه اول های
 یا مه رخشنده می (دهره) ضیا بخش اولان
 طلعت (رویک) می در عالمه ویرن جلای
 یا لیم ایدوب مدعی کون (یوزک) انکار ایدر
 ایلردی اول غبی (عاقل) ایسه ذره رای
 یاره ایدر اهل (عشق) طور میوب عرض هنر
 نوبت عرض هنر (سندّه) می شاهین کرای

TRANSLATION :—

“ Let but my beloved come and take up her abode in the mansion of her lover, and shall not thy beautiful face cause his eyes to sparkle with delight !

“ Or, would she but attack my rival with her glances, sharp-pointed as daggers, and, piercing his breast, cause him to moan, as a flute is pierced ere it emit its sighing notes.

“ Turn not away, my beauty ; nor flee from me, who am a prey to grief ; deem it not fitting that I be consumed with the fire of my love for thee.

“ If the grace of God favour one of His servants, that man, from a state of utter destitution, may become the monarch of the world.

“ Tears flow from my eyes by reason of their desire to reach thee ; for the sun of thy countenance, by an ordinance of the Almighty power, attracts to itself the moisture of the dew-drops.

“ If thou art wise, erect an inn on the road of self-negation ; so that the pilgrims of holy love may make thereof their halting-place.

“ O proud and noble mistress of mine ! with the eyebrows and

11

After the conquest of Persia by a subsequent dynasty, the western khans of the house of Jenghiz remained in possession of the southern half of the modern Russia in Europe, with an indefinite frontier to the east of the river Volga. These dominions became divided into three khanates, viz., those of Kazan, Astrakhan, and the Crimea; though, from their families being related, the reigning princes sometimes passed from one to the other of the three thrones. For a long period their yoke lay heavy on Russia, from whose dukes they exacted homage and tribute, and whose territories they devastated whenever hesitation or delay occurred in the payment of either, as also in their not unfrequent wars with one another.

Kazan first, and Astrakhan afterwards, had become, however, in their turn, subject to Russia before Peter the Great introduced his reforms. But, as the khans of the Crimea had voluntarily declared themselves vassals of Turkey shortly after the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottoman Sultan, Muhammed the Second, this khanate had remained comparatively great and powerful, making its sword felt in Russia, in Poland, in Hungary, and even in Austria. One of the khans assisted in the humiliation of Peter the Great by the forces of the Grand Vizier, which Charles the Twelfth of Sweden would have so much desired to see changed into captivity or total destruction. The territory of the khanate stretched from the banks of the Pruth, which divided it from Moldavia, to those of the Don, with a varying frontier to the north, and including the steppes which lie between the lower Don, the Caspian, and the Caucasian mountains of Circassia. Important military positions were, however, occupied by Turkish fortresses on the rivers of these territories, and on the shores of the Crimea itself.

For a long while previous to the events recorded in the following biographical sketch, the khans of the Crimea had ceased to live at Baghcha-Seray, their capital, and had established their residence at Kichenev (Koshan), in Bessarabia. A dignitary called the kalgha, or lieutenant of the khan, still abode at Ak-Mesjid. He was the second personage in the hierarchy of the khanate, and the officer next in dignity to him was designated the nuru-'d-din. They were always members of the khan's family, and were appointed by him as he pleased.

The reigning family of these Crimean descendants of Jenghiz, had, for several centuries, borne the surname of Ghiray. The reason given by the native historians for the assumption of this name, is, that it was a custom among the Tatars to put their young princes out to be nursed during infancy and childhood, with one of the nomade tribes of the nation. One of these was the tribe of Ghiray. A prince who had

thus been nurtured by the Ghiray tribe, became khan, and his foster-father happened to return to the Crimea from a pilgrimage to Mecca, at the epoch when a son was born to the khan. The old foster-father went to pay his respects to his sovereign, and requested, as a special favour, that the child should receive the name of his tribe. The khan consented, and ordered, moreover, that for ever after his descendants should bear the name.

The title of *nuru'd-din*, mentioned above, was derived from another prince, who had been nursed by the tribe of that name somewhat later in point of time, and who was the first appointed to the dignity at its creation, which was posterior to that of the *kalgha*. This word *kalgha* again, signifies "he who remains," i.e., the dignitary left in charge, as regent, for the internal administration of affairs during the khan's absence in the field in pursuance of commands received from the sultan. The office was instituted at an earlier epoch than that of *nuru'd-din*, but after the Crimea had become connected with the Turkish empire.

Having premised thus much as to the ancient relations of the Crimea, we proceed to mention that the war between Russia and Turkey which ultimately led to the annexation of that peninsula to her dominions by the Empress Catherine the Second, and which brings our author, *Shahin-Ghiray* on the scene, was declared by the Sultan against Russia in the year 1768, on account of the proceedings of this latter power in respect of Poland, of her constructing a new fortress at Orel, of her intrigues with the inhabitants of the plains of the Kuban, and with those of Moldavia, Montenegro, &c. As before mentioned, the khans of the Crimea had long ceased to keep their court in the peninsula, and Russian gold, promises, and influence had already procured for the Empress numerous partisans in that part of the khan's dominions. When, therefore, the Turkish general, *Ibrahim Pasha*, wished to proceed from Kaffa to the defence of *Perekop*, he met with the greatest obstacles on the part of the local authorities, who wilfully neglected to prepare for him the necessary means of transport, carts, camels, &c. Out of his own means he at length managed, however, to procure a very insufficient quantity, and was thus enabled, by causing these to make several journeys across the country, to move his forces to the critical point in time to encounter the Russians and defeat them in their first attack on *Perekop* in 1770. This success caused the Tatars to incline again to their old allegiance; but the fit was of short duration, as the disasters which befel the Sultan's forces in the Danubian provinces soon induced the fickle race to desert the losing cause.

However, at the commencement of hostilities, Krim-Ghiray, who was then the khan, and a soldier of dauntless courage, as well as of consummate skill in handling irregular troops, and of inflexible severity in repressing their unsanctioned excesses, led a vast array of Tatar horsemen into the southern confines of Russia, and laid waste a large extent of country. The celebrated Baron de Tott accompanied this expedition, and conceived a high opinion of the khan. The baron's suspicions were aroused respecting a certain Greek physician, named Siropulo, who was the medical attendant of the khan, and who had been bribed by the Prince of Wallachia. De Tott strove to put the khan on his guard against this man, but in vain; and shortly after his return from his mission of devastation, the prince fell a victim to the poison administered by Siropulo, in March, 1769.

Krim-Ghiray was succeeded by Devlet-Ghiray, who was present with the Turkish army in Bessarabia and to the east of the Dneister during the unfortunate campaign of 1769, when Choczim was taken by the Russians. In consequence, he was dismissed from his dignity on the 2nd March, 1770, and Kaplan-Ghiray named to succeed him. Kaplan-Ghiray was present at the battle of Kartal, or Kaghul, gained by the Russians on the 1st of August, 1770, over the Grand Vizier, near the Danube, and in the vicinity of Isakchi. He afterwards undertook to protect the fortress of Isma'il, but that fortress fell also. This was about the time when a separate Russian army attacked Perekop and was defeated by the Turkish general, Ibrahim Pasha, as above mentioned.

We then find it related that Kaplan-Ghiray went to the Crimea, as the Russians had thus possessed themselves of all his territories out of its boundaries. The Nogay Tatars had already openly declared for Russia; and when Kaplan-Ghiray arrived at his capital, he gathered the chiefs of his people together, informed them of the reverses of the Turks, as also of the defection of the Nogays, finishing by propounding the opinion that the best course for them all to take, was to sign a declaration of allegiance and send it to the Empress, under whose sway they might hope to live in peace and prosperity. The advice was accepted, and the declaration having been drawn up, Kaplan-Ghiray signed it first; the others were engaged in collecting signatures to it, when intelligence arrived that the Sultan had appointed Selim-Ghiray to the dignity of khan, and that a special messenger waited at Kaffa to conduct the deposed prince to Constantinople. This incident caused the postponement for the moment of the treacherous design upon which the Tatar chiefs were now generally bent.

Selim-Ghiray made his appearance in due time, and, proceeding to

Baghcha-Seray, gave himself up for the moment to a life of pleasure and vain display. As soon, however, as he received intelligence that the Russians were preparing for another attack on Perekop, he was seized with a jealous desire to secure for himself the glory of repulsing them. Without waiting to concert measures with the Turkish general, who had returned to Kaffa to hasten preparations, Selim-Ghiray collected what forces he could, and advanced at once to succour the beleaguered place. On his approach, a considerable portion of the garrison marched out towards the south to meet him with the customary honours; and in this interval a body of traitors introduced the Russians into the fortress, and the key of the Crimea was lost on the 24th of June, 1771. Selim-Ghiray returned in haste and confusion to his capital; but fear and treason were at work there also. He felt it impossible to hold his ground; and therefore, proceeding to the coast, embarked with a few followers for Constantinople. The Russians soon made themselves masters of the Turkish fortresses in the peninsula, Yeni-Kal'a, Kertch, Kaffa, Sudak, and Ghuzleva.

The Russian general now proclaimed the independence of the Crimea, declared the fugitive khan to have forfeited the throne, and caused Sahib-Ghiray to be elected in his place, who appointed his brother, Shahin-Ghiray, the author of our ode and subject of our memoir, as kalgha, with another brother, Bahadir-Ghiray, as nuru'd-din. The Turkish general, at Kaffa, making a show of resistance, Shahin-Ghiray went against him with a large body of Tatars, publicly declared that they had made terms with the Russians, and requested the pasha to withdraw peaceably from the Crimea on pain of having the Tatars against him also. On learning this, numbers of the Turkish forces abandoned the general and went on board ship. The subordinate pasha, who was the special titular commandant of Kaffa, Kertch, and Yeni-Kal'a, and was jealous of his commander-in-chief, also withdrew with his troops and landed at Sinope, in Asia Minor. The pasha, still determined not to abandon his post, was attacked and beaten on the 13th of July, 1771, and sent prisoner to St. Petersburg.

On the other hand, Selim-Ghiray, having reached Constantinople, was, after a while, formally deposed as wanting in capacity, and Maksud-Ghiray named to the vacant dignity. He, too, appointed his own kalgha and nurn-d-din, who were all present in the camp of the grand-vizier at Shumla. A double set of dignitaries was thus called into existence, one set in the Crimea being the nominees of Russia, and the others, representing their ancient and legitimate suzerain, were prepared to re-occupy the continental dominions of their race as soon as the war should cease.

During the following autumn and winter, negotiations were carried on between the two camps on the Danube, first for an armistice, and next for peace. Russia demanded that the Tatars should be declared independent, and that the fortresses of Kertch and Yeni-Kal'a should remain in her hands as guarantees of that independence. The Turkish Government, however, refused to agree to those terms.

Certain matters remained unsettled, too, between the Russians and their *protégés*, the Tatars in the Crimea. To obtain such terms as might be found possible, Sahib-Ghiray sent his brother Shahin-Ghiray to St. Petersburg, accompanied by a number of chiefs and notables of the nation. There, a compact was drawn up stipulating that, in the event of peace being concluded between Russia and the Sultan, the Tatar nation would acknowledge itself subject to the Empress. Shahin-Ghiray was induced to sign this paper, but the Tatar chiefs and notables refused to forego their independence. They quitted St. Petersburg in disgust, leaving Shahin there, and returned to communicate the terms which had been proposed for their acceptance. These tidings exasperated the nation in the highest degree; but, as all the fortified places were in the hands of the Russians, they could only wait in hopes that a return of peace between the two empires would rid them of their now hated liberators. Some time after, Shahin-Ghiray left St. Petersburg with the intention of returning to the Crimea, but the exasperation of the people against him was so strong that his friends dissuaded him from the attempt. He could not even procure an interview with his brother, the khan; but was constrained to remain at Pultowa until the conclusion of peace.

In the ensuing campaign of 1773 on the Danube (the whole of 1772 having passed in fruitless negotiations), Maksud-Ghiray and his *kalgha*, Bakht-Ghiray, were unsuccessful; but the latter having gained a marked preference over the titular khan, Maksud quitted the camp of the grand vizier in disgust. In 1774, again, although Bakht-Ghiray served faithfully, the Turkish arms, under their various generals, were, on the whole, extremely unfortunate; and at length, their principal army under the grand vizier, being shut up in the intrenched camp of Shumla, while the Russians occupied the whole of the open country between the Danube and the Balkan mountains, overtures for peace were made, and on the 21st of July the treaty of Kaynarja was signed, which, among other stipulations, secured the independence of the Tatars of the Crimea, of Bessarabia, and of the Kuban, as well as the possession of the fortresses of Kertch and Yeni-Kal'a by Russia in full sovereignty. Devlet-Ghiray had, however, been named generalissimo for Turkey in the Crimea; he had departed on this expedition, raised

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lived in the environs for upwards of thirty years, and died at Chatalja in 1822.

The events here narrated were the occasion of much angry discussion between the Turkish Government and the Russian ambassador. The former, to mark their determination, sent to Devlet-Ghiray the diploma of investiture as Khan of the Crimea. The Russians, however, were far from idle. They were taking measures to gain partisans among the Tatar chiefs, and were gradually completing their preparations for the execution of their ultimate object, the seizure and incorporation of the Crimea in their own territories. They raised seditions against Devlet-Ghiray Khan, and eventually sent a large military force to seize his person. Upon this he could offer no further resistance, and, quitting the peninsula, sailed to Constantinople. Arrived there, he was, after a while, sent to reside on an estate at Viza in Rumelia, where he died in 1780.

On the flight of Devlet-Ghiray, the influence of Russia was exerted to procure the election of Shahin-Ghiray to the vacant dignity, who, it will be recollected, had been sent to St. Petersburg as a negotiator by his brother, the former khan, Sahib-Ghiray, and who had shown himself to be an easy tool in the hands of the Empress's ministers. He was accordingly elected khan; upon which the Russians placed a kind of resident at his Court, who became his principal counsellor, and by whose advice he sent a deputation to St. Petersburg, to request that the Empress would deign to take the Crimea under her special protection. A convention was entered into by which Catherine accepted the protectorate, and Shahin-Ghiray acknowledged himself her vassal. In consequence, the Russians commenced the construction of some new fortifications between Kertch and Yeni-Kal'a, intelligence of which reached Constantinople at the same time as the customary deputation which came to notify the election of the new khan, and to request that his letters of investiture might be transmitted to him from the Sultan.

The Turkish Government, looking upon the acts of Russia as infringements of the independence of the Crimea, refused to acknowledge Shahin-Ghiray, and named the former khan, Selim-Ghiray, as the Sultan's spiritual representative in the peninsula. Selim set out to take possession.

The Russians had now begun to subject the Tatar youth of the Crimea to the laws of the conscription, and to quarter their troops upon Tatar families without regard to the customs which preserved the women's apartments inviolate. These acts drove the people to

desperation. They assembled tumultuously, besieged the house of the Russian general, vociferating that they wished him and his troops to quit their country, and to take his nominee, Shahin-Ghiray, with him. Furious encounters ensued; blood flowed on both sides, and aid was asked from the Sultan by the Tatars, who now bitterly repented of having allowed themselves to be beguiled. It was resolved at Constantinople to send at once a few ships of war and a few thousand troops to watch affairs in the Crimea; and, both in Rumelia and in Asia, matters were put on a war footing, for fear that Russia should appear resolved to proceed to extremities. A memorandum was also addressed to all the friendly Powers, calling their attention to the unwarrantable interference exercised by Russia in the Crimea, in direct contravention to the independence of that country.

Russia was then in great difficulties; and, although she desisted not for a day from her machinations among the Tatars, Catherine instructed her ambassador to deny the existence of the convention which conferred the protectorate upon her, and to explain away the remaining subjects of complaint, while he continued to urge the request that the Sultan should confirm Shahin-Ghiray in his spiritual dignity.

On the arrival of the Turkish squadron, and more especially on the landing of Selim-Ghiray, the Russians introduced more troops into the Crimea for the apparent protection of their nominee, Shahin-Ghiray, but in reality to possess themselves more and more of the strongholds of the country. They were attacked by the Tatars, exactly as Russia had wished; and then it was that General Proskowski was ordered to advance with an army, still proclaiming that he came to put down resistance to the rightful khan, Shahin-Ghiray. Much fighting ensued; but Selim-Ghiray and his adherents were too weak to prevail against the other party and the Russian bayonets and artillery, so that at length he found himself compelled to bid adieu to the Crimea, and, returning to Constantinople, he died about eight years afterwards at his paternal estate in the neighbourhood of Viza, in Rumelia.

Again the Russian ambassador made a request that the Sultan should recognise the validity of Shahin-Ghiray's election as khan, and send him the necessary letters of spiritual investiture. The Turkish Government was obdurate; and as Catherine had now surmounted several of her difficulties, she authorized her representative to avow the convention of the protectorate, and declare that she was prepared to act upon it. Thereupon Turkey gave orders to complete the

preparations for war, and was on the very point of proceeding to open hostilities, when, by express instructions from his Court, the ambassador of France offered his mediation in the quarrel. Long discussions and angry recriminations followed; but ultimately the counsels of France prevailed, and in 1779 the Convention of Aynali-Kayak was signed and ratified, which provided, among other things, that Russia should withdraw all her troops from the Crimea within three months; that, when the Crimean authorities should notify that the Russians had entirely retreated beyond Perekop, and should send a deputation to ask, in the manner agreed upon, for the usual confirmation, the Sultan should grant the letters of investiture to Shahin-Ghiray; and furthermore, that, in case of future disturbances among the Tatars, the necessary steps should be taken in conjunction by Russia and Turkey, nothing being done by one party without consulting the other. Soon after, the deputation arrived to demand the letter of investiture for Shahin-Ghiray, and a high Turkish functionary was despatched with it, agreeably to the usual form of ceremonial.

In 1781, Shahin-Ghiray having pushed the display of his Russian tendencies to an imprudent length, having issued a proclamation for the suppression of all religious and charitable institutions and the confiscation of the estates and property by which they were supported, having given strict orders for a kind of conscription by which the young men of the nation were forced to enter the army, and having caused a number of persons to be publicly executed who had raised their voices against these innovations, a conspiracy against him was formed, and his two brothers joined in it. When their measures were complete, they attacked the khan's palace, and Shahin-Ghiray, finding himself without support, fled to the sea-coast, where he embarked. The Tatars immediately elected his elder brother, Bahadir-Ghiray, as khan in lieu of the fugitive prince, and the new ruler named his third brother, Arslan-Ghiray, as his kalgha. These events were immediately communicated officially to the Turkish Government, and the customary request made for the letter of investiture to be sent in the name of the new khan. Prince Potemkin, the Russian general at Yeni-Kal'a, was also unofficially informed of what had taken place.

Shahin-Ghiray, however, had also sailed to Yeni-Kal'a, and made his own statement to the Russian general, who immediately placed about a dozen ships at his disposal. These were manned by Russian and Tatar adherents of Shahin, and were sent to the various ports of the Crimea to collect signatures to a petition calling on the Russian general to put down the rebellion and reinstate Shahin on the throne.

They were also ordered to blockade the coast, and put a stop to all maritime commerce, seizing whatever might belong to the party that had usurped the government.

Immediately that the proceedings of these cruisers became known at Constantinople, the Turkish Government protested against them as a direct and flagrant violation of the principle of the convention lately concluded. To these complaints the answer was returned from Russia that, rather than suffer Shahin-Ghiray to be thus dispossessed of the throne, the Empress was ready to recommence hostilities. She was enabled to hold this decisive language, because she had just entered into an alliance with Austria. In consequence, the Turkish Government was forced to refrain from acting, though it continued to protest against the arbitrary proceedings of Russia.

Meanwhile positive orders were sent to the general to reinstate Shahin-Ghiray. The Russian forces were again marched into various towns and places of the Crimea, and Prince Potemkin himself following shortly afterwards to Baghcha-Seray, overturned the new government and replaced Shahin on the throne. Shahin caused his brother, Bahadir-Ghiray, to be cast into prison; and, instigated thereto by the Russians, sent to the Turkish Pasha of Oczakoff to demand the cession of that fortress as having anciently belonged to the khanate of the Crimea.

The Turkish Government now fairly took the alarm and prepared for eventualities, without a wish to hasten the crisis by a declaration of war. Catherine, however, by her cajoleries, and by what may be termed a bribe in money, having succeeded in attaching the King of Sweden to her interests, saw that the occasion was favourable for the completion of her long-cherished scheme of annexing the Crimea to her dominions. She resolved to take advantage of the slightest pretext that might offer, and her functionaries were not long in finding one. The Turkish Pasha of Soghujak, a fortress on the coast of Circassia, and, at that time, the head-quarters of the Turkish establishments on those shores, had sent one of his officers with a small detachment to Taman, situated on the Asiatic side of the strait of Yeni-Kal'a. The Russian general compelled Shahin-Ghiray to send a messenger to demand the withdrawal of this force, on the plea that the country depended on the Crimea, and that, consequently, Turkey had no right to hold a post in the territory. The Turkish subaltern foolishly and unjustly caused the messenger to be put to death, thereby giving the Russians the very pretext they desired. They obtained from Shahin-Ghiray a forced requisition to clear his dependent territory of Taman of the presence of the intrusive

Turkish forces, and to inflict a due punishment on the murderers of his messenger. At the same time, under pretence that Turkey was threatening the Crimea, the Russian generals were ordered to occupy with their forces the principal posts in the peninsula. Prince Potemkin established his head-quarters at Kara-Su, at which place he convened an assembly of the principal Tatar chiefs and princes. He then informed them that the independence of their country was at an end, and that they must henceforward look upon the Empress as their sovereign, and take the oath of allegiance to her; that those who did so, and chose to remain in the country, would have the free and public exercise of their religion, while those who preferred it would be allowed to leave and go where they would. Similar scenes were enacted in all the chief towns. Thousands of families fled to Turkey. A body of about 10 000 took the route overland to Kil-burun, in order to pass over to Okzakoff. From want of boats they were forced to encamp for several days; and the Russians, in order to establish a quarrel with the Turkish governor of that fortress, went so far as to send him a demand for a heavy indemnity for the grass which the cattle of these fugitives had eaten, and for the bushes they had burnt in their passage across the uninhabited steppes of their own country, from which they were being driven.

Shahin-Ghiray now saw clearly, when too late, the true nature of the Empress whose tool he had so long been. He was informed that his presence in the Crimea was no longer wanted, as the country would henceforward be administered in Catherine's name by her own officers. To soothe him, however, and quell all idea of opposition on his part, a splendid annual pension was conferred upon him, and a suitable place of abode was assigned to him in Russia, to which he was forthwith removed.

To give a show of reason to these transactions in the eyes of Europe, Catherine, though no single act of warfare or of reprisals had yet occurred on the part of Turkey, published a long manifesto, in which she threw all the blame on the Sultan's Government, and announced to the world that, to indemnify herself for past losses, and also with the view to prevent further disputes with Turkey, she had definitely annexed to her dominions the Crimean peninsula and the plains of the Kuban. To the Tatars, also, she addressed a proclamation, promising them the free exercise of their religion, and all the privileges enjoyed by her ancient happy and fortunate subjects; but requiring on their part a similarly implicit obedience in future to her supreme commands.

The Tatars finding they were, in reality, reduced to the same

state of slavery as the hereditary Russian serfs, soon commenced preparations to free themselves from the thralldom. Potemkin, however, penetrated their designs, attacked them before these were matured, and quenched the last embers of Tatar freedom in the blood of upwards of thirty thousand men, women, and children, massacred in this ruthless onslaught.

The King of France protested against these acts as subversive of the terms of the convention of Aynali-Kavak, the fruit of his mediation. The alliances, however, into which Catherine had entered with the other Powers of Europe at this period, gave her such a preponderance, that Turkey felt it would be folly to act on the provocation, and contented herself with endeavouring to complete her preparations, so as to be ready to profit by future contingencies, if favourable to her views.

Bahadir-Ghiray had been thrown into prison by his brother Shahin, when the latter returned to power by the assistance of Potemkin's bayonets. But when, seven months later, Shahin-Ghiray was deposed and sent into Russia, Bahadir found the means to escape from confinement and fled to the Nogay Tatars on the plains of the Kuban, where he took up his abode unmolested. Seven years later, when all hope of the Crimea becoming again an independent state, or a dependency of Turkey, was utterly relinquished, he was invited to Constantinople. An estate was conferred upon him at Rodosto, together with a suitable pension, and he died there two years afterwards, in the year 1791.

As to the unfortunate Shahin-Ghiray, the more immediate subject of the present memoir, the pension assigned to him was soon allowed to fall into arrears, and he found himself the object of the scorn and contempt of his captors. Stung with this treatment, he preferred to risk whatever might befall him among his co-religionaries in Turkey, though he well knew that his former acts could not plead in his favour with the Court whose interests he had so grossly and so blindly betrayed. On his arrival in Turkey, in 1789, he was at once ordered to be sent in exile to the Island of Rhodes, where instructions were received to execute him as a traitor to his sovereign, and as the main cause of the success of all the perfidious designs of the Empress Catherine and her unscrupulous agents.

Seventy years had elapsed since the annexation of the Crimea to Russia, when, in 1854, the allied forces invaded the peninsula and commenced the siege of Sebastopol. The feelings exhibited by the population after so long a subjugation, are a strong proof that the success of Russia in her intrigues arose from the ignorance of the Tatar

chiefs, which allowed them to be tempted by her promises, and that the bulk of the people is Turkish at heart to the present hour. The wholesale emigration still going on, by which these Tatars are now abandoning the land conquered by their forefathers five hundred years ago, is confirmatory of the same inference. But the tide of Russia's fortune, though it may occasionally meet with a temporary check, is yet on the flow, and the void left by the Tatar emigration will ultimately be filled with another race, whose ears and eyes are on the stretch towards what is as yet talked of as the ultimate prize, but which, if ever attained, will be, in reality, considered a mere stepping-stone to universal dominion—the seven-hilled, sea-girt, imperial city of Constantine.

ART. XII.—*On the Agricultural, Manufacturing, and Commercial Resources of India.* By WILLIAM BALSTON, Esq.

[Read 6th April, 1861.]

IN accepting the invitation of a friend to read you a paper on the agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial resources of India, I wish to explain that during my short residence there of seven years—for seven years is but a short time for learning much of that country—my attention was devoted almost exclusively to this subject, and as I carried out with me a practical knowledge of public works, their adaptation to particular purposes, their forms and cost, and their utility in developing the resources of a country, I feel some confidence in my ability to speak to the purpose of these coarse and material yet important affairs—important, because they affect not merely the physical comforts and enjoyments of a people, but also their moral and intellectual condition; the material prosperity of a man providing him not merely with food, clothing, and shelter, but also leisure, and its necessary adjuncts, for the promotion of his mental and social enjoyments. I have, therefore, accepted the invitation of my friend, not willingly alone, but gladly, partly from my having devoted much time to these affairs, but more especially as my strongest passion on any public question is the desire to promote the welfare of the people of India, particularly that of the predial classes, of whose simplicity of character, truthfulness, and honesty I have received the most favourable impressions.

It was in the year 1849, when public attention had been directed to the subject of introducing railways into India by Sir Macdonald Stevenson and the late Mr. John Chapman, that I went out. I had carefully noted all they had said on the subject, and being impressed at the time with the popular, but very erroneous, idea that India was an extremely productive country, I started with the belief that the making a railway from the sea-board to the interior would cause a great movement of traffic, as full and free as the flow from a newly-tapped barrel, and increase largely the wealth of the country. So confident was I of this, that I felt almost inclined to smile

at the doubts, expressed by Mr. Bright and others, that railways could not be successful in a commercial point of view, on account of the poverty of the country. Experience, however, soon taught me that they knew more of India than I did, and that the barrel to be tapped was not a full but an almost empty one, or, to speak literally, that India is not an extremely productive country, but altogether the reverse; not by any means a garden, but a semi-annual desert, yielding a much smaller return for the labour employed in cultivation than almost any other quarter of the globe, the most palpable proof of which being the fact that the labour of an able-bodied and industrious labourer is worth only 3*d.* per day. This affords a just measure or criterion by which to judge the relative productiveness of the soil of India and that of the valley of the Mississippi. In the latter, labour is worth a dollar per man per day, or sixteen times its value in the former. To illustrate the extreme poverty of India I will give you some statistics of the produce and exports of the East, comparing them with the West. For the purpose of being more clearly understood, I will confine myself as much as possible to that part of India which is drained by the Indus, and show its relative produce with that of the Cotton States of America. The argument which I am about to use applies with equal, or nearly equal, force to the whole of India. First, then, we will compare the exports of agricultural produce from Kurrachee, which is the seaport of the Indus, with that of the nine Cotton-growing States of America—viz., Georgia, North and South Carolina, Virginia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas. The last official returns show an export from Kurrachee amounting to 377,875¹, from a population of 21,084,673², of whom about two-thirds are returned as cultivators³, which gives an export of 4½*d.* per head of population, and 6½*d.* per head of cultivating population per annum. According to the American Census now published, the population in the Cotton States is 7,656,164⁴, including 3,175,880 slaves. In the absence of returns, I assume that the exports of sugar, rice, tobacco, and other slave-grown products from these to other states and to foreign countries amounted to twenty per cent. of the produce of cotton, which was 4,675,000⁵ bales of 447 lbs.⁶ each, at 11*c.* per lb., giving a money

¹ 1858-9.

² Parliamentary Return, July 25th, 1857.

³ N. W. Provinces 65 per cent.; Madras Presidency 63½ per cent.; Bengal and Bombay not shown.

⁴ American Almanack, 1860.

⁵ Cotton Supply Reporter, December 1st, 1860.

⁶ Mann's Cotton Trade of Great Britain, pp. 9, 114.

value of 47,889,531*l.* The addition of twenty per cent. to this, makes a total of 57,467,337*l.* This, taking slave as the only labouring population, gives an export of 18*l.* per head of cultivators against 6½*d.* per head of the free labourers of the East. Although this calculation rests to some extent on assumption, it is a sufficient approximation to the truth to show all that I wish to show: viz., that India is not a productive, but an extremely unproductive country.

As a proof that this argument applies with almost equal force to the whole, as to a particular part, of the country, I need only name the fact that the exports from the whole of India (1858) amounted to only 4*s.* 6*d.*¹ per head of cultivating population, or less than one-eightieth part that of the Slave States. If the exports of India were as much per capita of the whole population as those of the Slave Cotton States, the amount would be—not 27,000,000*l.*, as at present,—but 1,351,000,000*l.* It may be said that the African slave is superior as a labourer to the Hindoo. I know sufficient of both to be able to deny that. Under the stimulus of a liberal remuneration, that is, two to three annas² per diem, the cultivator of India, especially of the north-west of India, does quite as much work as it is possible for any negro to do under the influence of the whip. If we glance from these general deductions to the particular produce of the individual labourer, we find the discrepancy equally striking. I have here a pamphlet on cotton cultivation written by a practical planter of Mississippi,³ and published by the Cotton Supply Association. According to his statements the annual produce of a single labourer, with the usual assistance from cattle, is five bales of cotton and six acres of corn, which is worth 60*l.*, on the uplands; and ten bales of cotton and three acres of corn, worth 100*l.*, in the lowlands; which gives an average produce of 80*l.* per man per annum. Compare this with the produce of the most fertile cotton-producing district of India, viz., Goozerat,⁴ a province on the sea-board, where the value of the crop is not depreciated by the want of cheap conveyance to a seaport. According to the testimony of the late Mr. Mackay, the author of *Western India*, which is quite in accordance with my own personal

¹ Total exports, 1858,—27,453,692*l.*, from the Official Returns of the India House.

² 1 anna = 1½*d.*

³ The cultivation of Orleans staple cotton as practised in the Mississippi cotton-growing region.—Cotton Supply Association.

⁴ It is stated by some that Bérar is the best cotton producing district in India; this assertion, however, is not supported by the published prices current, which quote the Oomrawutt cotton as the lowest quality, except one, in the market; inferiority of staple being sure proof of scantiness of crop.

knowledge, the ordinary holding of a family of five persons is fifteen acres, producing 12*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.*¹ worth of cotton, supposing the whole of the land to be occupied with cotton, or 2*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.* per head of cultivators, of which about one-half is paid to the Government as land-tax, the remainder, viz. 1*l.* 5*s.* 1½*d.*, being the scanty remuneration for the cattle as well as the manual labour employed. Since I was in Goozerat, in the spring of 1850, the value of cotton has risen fully twenty-five per cent., and as the land-tax would remain unchanged, the return for labour would be increased fifty per cent., that, is to 1*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.* per head of population per annum, cattle power included. Compared with that of America what a miserable pittance it is! Whilst the average produce of cotton in Goozerat would be at present prices 21*s.* per acre, on the great cotton-field of the Deccan, in Scinde, and the more remote districts, it is only about one-half this amount. The crop is, generally, more scanty than in Goozerat, and the value is much reduced by the cost of carriage to the place of shipment. In Scinde the produce is officially returned at 50*lbs.* per acre, which is, in my opinion, above the actual produce, and the value is not more than 2*d.* per *lb.*, or 8*s.* 4*d.* per acre, at present prices. Sugar-cane, too, which in other countries produce 25 cwt. of sugar of a certain fixed quality per acre of land, in India yields 4 cwt.² only, and at a greater cost of labour than elsewhere; because in India the greater portion of the labour employed is wasted in lifting water. The exotic cane, which is as large as a man's wrist, requires much more watering than the Chenee or native plant, which is little larger than a finger. The difficulty and expense of obtaining a large supply of water prevents its cultivation. By whatever standard it is tested, whether the amount of exports, the value or the produce of labour, or the acreage yield of the soil, for a civilized country teeming with an industrious population, India is singularly unproductive.

After a year's acquaintance with the country it was this that riveted my attention; and how to make the labour of 180,000,000 of people as productive in India as in other countries, appeared to me a grand, and, at the same time, an extremely simple problem to solve. To apply a remedy, it is necessary to understand the disease and its cause or causes. Without discussing any of the political reasons assigned as obstructions to a higher and more successful cultivation, I will confine myself to the more immediate, and obvious, viz.: the natural obstacles, if any, in the climate and the soil.

¹ Western India, p. 120.

² Report of the Sugar and Coffee Committee, 1848, Mr. Leonard Wray and Mr. A. Crooke.

Taking, then, the least productive province in India, viz., Scinde, a province which yields but 8s. 4d. worth of cotton per acre, and the whole revenue of which amounts to only about one-half of the expenses of Government¹, let us inquire if there is anything in the temperature or the soil to prevent the production of good crops. On this subject I am glad to be able to quote the best authorities, viz.: Colonels A. B. Rathborne, H. B. Turner, and William Pottinger.

Col. Rathborne, late Collector and Magistrate of Hyderabad, in Scinde, in a letter with which he favoured me last November, writes:—

“There can be no doubt that the natural fertility of Scinde is fully equal to that of Egypt; indeed, as far as I could judge (and I passed nearly two years in Egypt), the soil is in both identical. Both are in almost the same latitude; both have about the same climate; both produce the same plants and trees, quadrupeds, birds, and fishes. The geological formation in both is the same; the features in each resembling those of the other in a manner almost ludicrous. There is a petrified forest, for instance, a few miles from Cairo; there is a similar stratum of petrified trees and plants at the same distance from Hyderabad. The meyt, or washing earth, dug up near Hyderabad, has its corresponding feature in the washing earth, of precisely the same description, near the capital of Egypt. The limestone hills, in the neighbourhood of Hyderabad, are of exactly the same character as the corresponding hills near Cairo. The baubul is the principal wood in Scinde; it is the same in Egypt. Any one who has seen the mouth of the Nile, may be said to have seen those of the Indus; whilst the rocky formation about Alexandria presents precisely the same geological appearance as that around Kurrachee. In both, I may add, cotton is, I believe, indigenous. The present cotton of commerce in Egypt is, as you are no doubt aware, of recent introduction, and is chiefly of the sea island species, owing its extended cultivation to the fostering care of Mahomed Ali. It is impossible to suppose that the same plant, with the same care bestowed upon it, would not produce equal crops in our own province.

“In my report on the Hyderabad Collectorate, in 1847, I stated as follows:—‘Land that has long lain fallow, will, if of good quality, yield a return of a kunwale per beegah.’ There are, as nearly as possible, 27½ bushels to the kunwale, and two of the old Scinde beegahs are about a thirteenth less than an English acre—consequently the produce is within a fraction of 60 bushels per acre.

¹ Report on Indian Territories, Dec. 2nd, 1852,—Sir G. R. Clerk.

“Under a proper system of irrigation, it is needless to say, that all the land in Scinde that now bears bajree and jowree (the common food of the people), might be made capable of producing sugar crops.”

Colonel William Pottinger, who was in Scinde with the late Sir Henry Pottinger previous to the conquest, thus speaks of the natural fertility of the province :—

“On the eastern bank of the Indus, and its branch the Pungaree, the whole extent of country, from the ocean to the most northern part of Scinde, produces extraordinary crops by irrigation. The wheat crops in Scinde are the finest I have ever seen, and surpass even those of Egypt, which country I have travelled over in my visit to thebes and Upper Egypt.”

The crops principally produced by irrigation are the common cereals, bajree, and jowree.

Colonel H. B. Turner, the Government Engineer in Scinde, who has for several years past taken an annual tour through the cultivated districts, in his evidence given before the Colonization and Settlement (India) Committee, says :—

“Wheat and barley grow extremely well. There are a number of rains more particularly indigenous, such as bajree and jowree, the latter surpassing anything I have seen elsewhere.”

In Egypt the irrigated land yields from 5*l.* to 20*l.* per acre of cotton,¹ 25 cwt. per acre of marketable sugar, and 9*l.* to 12*l.* per acre of wheat (50 to 60 bushels); the non-irrigated inundated land producing 25 to 30 bushels per acre. (*Vide* Sir John Bowring's Report, 840.) The cost of lifting the water for a full crop of cotton and sugar amounts to from 3*l.* to 10*l.* per acre, exclusive of the cost of wells and lifting machines. In Egypt, as in Scinde, their production depends entirely on irrigation. If the soil of Scinde is as latently fertile as that of Egypt—which nobody doubts—it follows that a sufficient supply of water, free from the cost of lifting, would be worth from 3*l.* to² 10*l.* per acre and upwards to the cultivator of cotton and sugar. The present produce of Scinde is, as before stated, only *s.* 4*d.* per acre of cotton, and 1*l.* 2*s.* of all crops. The cultivation of wheat is too limited to affect the general average, because, as stated by Colonel Rathborne, “it is a Spring crop, which has to be brought to maturity when the river is at the lowest, and artificial irrigation is

¹ 495 lbs. at 6*d.* = 12*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* “A fair average production, with proper attention to cultivation and irrigation.”—Sir J. Bowring's Report.

² *Idem.*

almost, if not quite, impossible; consequently it can be grown only on land so situated as to be thoroughly saturated during the inundation;" of which kind of land the quantity is very small.

The evidence of the authorities I have now given you—and it would be easy to advance equally conclusive proof of the latent fertility of the soil throughout the peninsula—entirely confirms my long-established conviction, that it is not the soil or climate of India; that it is not the want of skill on the part of the cultivator, or the want of roads; it is not the want of lawyers trained in modes of procedure, or the want of land in fee simple; I say it is none of these wants which prevents the production of good crops of cotton and sugar, but the long-continued drought,¹ and the absence of any efficient artificial supply of the required moisture. The ordinary effects of this scourge might be witnessed at any time between the months of September and June; but to see its extreme evils you should go now to the North-Western Provinces, where, in consequence of an extra month's drought, Her Majesty's subjects are perishing of starvation by hundreds a day, and this, too, within sight of the great rivers of India.²

¹ "The general complaint in India, however, is, that crops are destroyed by excessive drought at unseasonable times,"—p. 224. "Irrigation would make the cultivation of cotton easy and independent of dry seasons,"—p. 227. "It is doubtful whether the climate in general is ever suitable to the successful culture of American cotton without the aid of such artificial irrigation as may be supplied by a canal,"—p. 291. "The planters seem to me to think more of climate than of soil, or rather, I should say, they find it more difficult to find a favourable climate in India than a favourable soil,"—p. 292. Dr. Forbes Royle, *Culture and Commerce of Cotton in India*.

"By irrigation the cotton itself would be improved, and there would be a much larger production."—Colonization and Settlement Committee, 1859. J. O'B. Saunders, Esq. Questions 10,237-38.

"He (his father) varied the culture; he subjected the ground to more or less ploughing and manuring, and, at last, to watering, and the conclusion at which he arrived, after several years' experience, was this, that the length of the staple and its fineness depend entirely upon the degree of care bestowed upon its culture, and upon its being irrigated at the proper time."—Cotton Committee, 1848. Question 2,795. F. C. Brown, Esq.

² And the great Ganges Canal. It is asserted that the famine is attributable to the unfinished condition of this work. We learn, however, from the "Memorandum," published by the Indian Government in 1858, of which the following is an extract, that "on the 30th April, 1856, the canal had been carried so far that the water flowed continuously through 449½ miles of the main trunk and terminal branches. The extent of the main channels of distribution (*rajbuhas*) completed was 435½ miles, and 817 miles more were in active progress." Estimated cost under 2,000,000*l.*,—amount expended 1,560,000*l.* According to the local newspapers the scourge is most severely felt about the upper or finished portions. "The

"For eight months in the year all India is a road,"—so said Colonel W. H. Sykes in the House of Commons, which saying has been iterated by others of long Indian experience, implying that for eight months in the year the surface soil is burnt up as dry as an English road in summer. Is it, therefore, possible to produce good crops of cotton, which, to be grown to perfection, require a supply of moisture throughout the year, without artificial irrigation? It is evident such crops cannot be profitably cultivated without a cheap and efficient artificial supply of water. Were this obstacle removed, notwithstanding the existence of others, I am confident in the opinion that India would supply the whole of the cotton and sugar imported into Europe, even if the importation exceeded 100,000,000*l.* a year, which, in the course of a few years, it probably would, supposing the prosperity of the cotton trade of this country should continue.

amount of distress," says the Lahore Chronicle, "existing around Delhi is appalling." I am informed, on the best authority, that the supply of water in the dry season is greatly insufficient to supply the channels now open, although the quantity running waste in the rivers is more than enough to irrigate all the land in the Doab throughout the dry season. My opinion, therefore, is that had the finished portion been efficient it would have prevented any scarcity of food, not only in the Doab of the Jumna and the Ganges, but throughout the North-West; the more so as the canal is navigated, after a fashion, as low down as Cawnpore. It is now upwards of 15 years since the surveys were commenced (Sept. 16th, 1845). If it had been undertaken by private capitalists it might have been completed 10 years ago, not as a comparatively valueless ditch, but as a fully efficient canal. That it is a ditch only, although a very large one, is shown by Col. R. B. Smith, the Director of the North-Western Canals, in his book on Italian irrigation (Vol. ii. p. 361), in which he states that the Commissioners appointed to report previous to its commencement recommended that it should be kept below the surface of the country, which recommendation was adopted. Thus the first object of an irrigating canal, which is to get the water above the surface of the country, and one which would be cheaply purchased at a cost of 5,000*l.* a mile, was ignored, or as is more probable (the Commissioners were not commercial men, or civil engineers, but of the military profession) overlooked at the beginning. That it possesses none of the requisite features of a carrying canal, is proved by the cost as given in the "Memorandum," viz., 2,200*l.* per mile. It is said that a district once visited by severe famine does not recover for ten years (*vide* evidence of Sir John Lawrence before the C. and S. of India Committee, 1859). The cost of the present calamity to the public treasury will probably exceed the interest of 40,000,000*l.* The loss of human life, and of labour, which is the source of all revenue, will be something enormous, and can never be recovered. According to Sir John Lawrence, the Government revenue suffered in the famine of 1838, to the extent of 400,000*l.* in one year, in one of the divisions of the North-West Provinces, viz., that of Agra, which has a population, according to the last return, of 4,373,156. The present drought, which is said to be much more severe in its effects than that of 1838, prevails, as is reported, with greater or less intensity throughout a population of upwards of 33,000,000.

Although the drought is the first, and beyond comparison the greatest, yet it is not the only cause of the poverty of India. Fair, in some cases good, crops of the cereals and of oil-seeds, which require comparatively little moisture, are produced without artificial irrigation. Their value, however, especially such as are exportable, is greatly reduced by reason of the want of cheap communication from the interior to the sea-board. As the present cost of carriage is 2*l.* per ton per 100 miles, and the incidental expenses about fifty per cent. of the cost of carriage, the value of a bushel of linseed which is 4*s.* 3*d.* at a seaport, is reduced in the interior, at a distance of 200 miles from the seaport, to 1*s.* 9*d.* per bushel; that is to say, that the cost of carrying oil-seeds 200 miles by cart amounts to 200 per cent. nearly of its first cost. Beyond this distance it amounts to a prohibition to export.

To the limited extent to which the railways now constructing will accommodate traffic, this will be reduced to about one-half the present cost, and the expense of carrying seed, grain, &c., 400 miles by rail will be equal to about 200 per cent. of its first cost, and for longer distances will operate to prevent any export. Thus it appears that the want of cheap communication from all parts of India, where exportable products can be grown, to the sea-board, causes an enormous loss to the country. The only remedy either for this or the greater evil, viz., the drought, is an efficient system of canals. As a canal would be required to serve the double purpose of irrigation and navigation, it would be necessarily a work of greater magnitude than any of the kind intended for navigation only. At the mouth or head where it receives the water from the river which feeds it, it would be 200 feet or 300 feet wide, according to the extent of the land to be irrigated, gradually tapering down to a width of 40 feet at the tail, which would be sufficiently wide to accommodate any amount of traffic that might come on it.

For such a canal there are three essential requisites, the absence of any one of which would involve a loss or reduction of profit to the cultivator—supposing him to be sufficiently intelligent to avail himself fully of his resources—of some pounds sterling per acre per annum. 1st. It should give an abundant supply of water throughout the year. 2nd. The supply should be free from the cost of lifting. And 3rd. It should give a navigable communication with the sea-board. Without a sufficient supply throughout the year, or nearly so, the land would yield less by some pounds sterling per annum per acre than with it; if subject to the cost of lifting, the expense, even at the present value of labour, would amount to some pounds sterling per

annum per acre; and without a communication with the sea-board the general produce would be depreciated at any distance above 200 miles from the sea by some pounds sterling per acre per annum; the article of cotton only being an exception.

To grow crops of cotton in the greatest perfection it would be necessary to cultivate the plant as a perennial, and to give it occasional waterings throughout the dry season. This, in skilful hands, would raise the value of the crop to par with that of the best irrigated crops of Egypt, that is, from 8s. 4d. per acre (the present produce of Scinde) to 10*l.* and upwards. An abundant and continuous supply would also admit of the cultivation of the exotic sugar-cane—as is proved in Egypt, and has been proved experimentally in India¹—which yields 25 cwt.² of marketable sugar to the acre, instead of 4 cwt. It would also enable the cultivator to obtain not only a larger but also a second crop of grain or seed from land which now yields but one, and that often a very poor one.

The cost of lifting water from any existing works of irrigation in the dry season—when there is water to lift, which generally there is not when it is most wanted—would be from 3*l.* to 10*l.*³ and upwards per acre for cotton or sugar, consequently irrigation is not used in the dry season, except for sugar—almost exclusively for home consumption—and gardens. The saving of this expense would be a gain of pounds per acre per year, and would admit of its application to all crops.

The third requisite which I have mentioned is a canal communication with the sea-board. As the capital cost of an Indian canal, and also the cost of maintenance of works would be amply provided for by the profits of irrigation, the cost of carriage would be merely the cost of boat hire and draught power, which in India would amount to almost nothing. At a speed of 2½ miles per hour, one horse power is equal to a load of 64 tons⁴ on a canal, and, as a pair of bullocks is more than equal to a horse power, the cost of carrying on a canal with towing paths would be 6s. 6d. per ton only for 2,048 miles: viz.—

¹ *I*de Evidence of Mr. Arthur Crooke.—Sugar and Coffee Committee, 1848.

² Sir John Bowring's Report.

³ The cost of *one watering* of an acre of land in the dry season from channels and wells, with bullocks at 3*d.* per pair per diem, and men at 2*d.* per man per diem, as given by Mr. Leonard Wray (*vide* Report of the Sugar and Coffee Committee, 1848, p. 55) is 5s. 4*d.*; and by Dr. Moore (Colonization and Settlement [India] Committee, April 7th, 1859) 6s. 3*d.*, exclusive of the cost of wells or channels and lifting machines.

⁴ Brunel's Treatise on Draught.

64 tons 32 miles = 1 ton 2,048 miles.

	s.	d.
4 pair bullocks	4	0
2 men	0	6
Boat hire	2	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	6	6

This statement may appear striking, but it is one which will bear examination. Thus then the cost of carriage would be almost annihilated, and the present cost, which, as I have before stated, amounts to about 2*l.* per ton per hundred miles per road, and 1*l.* per railway, exclusive of incidental expenses, would be almost entirely saved, and by so much the value of the crop would be enhanced. The average weight of crop from irrigated land would be one ton per acre; of grain, seeds, and sugar it would be more, and of cotton much less. Taking a ton as the average, the gain by canal carriage would be 1*l.* per acre nearly, at a distance of a hundred miles from the sea, even with a railway communication; and without it 2*l.* per acre; the amount increasing with the increasing distance from the sea-board.

To put the advantages of canal carriage in a strong light, I assume a traffic of 7,680,000 tons 500 miles for all India, which for the extent of country and population would, if the land were more productive be extremely small. Comparing the cost of this traffic by canal with its present cost by road and railway, shows that canals would effect a saving of 76,160,000*l.* per annum as compared with roads, and 37,760,000*l.* per annum as compared with railroads; the cost of carriage being taken at the prices named before:—

	Per 100 miles.	£
7,680,000 tons 500 miles per rail 1 <i>l.</i> . . .		38,400,000
„ „ per road 2 <i>l.</i> . . .		76,800,000 ¹
„ „ per canal 4 <i>d.</i> . . .		640,000

However valuable railways might be to the general interests of the country or profitable as commercial speculations (about which I express no opinion), it is clear they are infinitely less so than canals would be, for either agricultural or commercial purposes.

¹ The navigation of Indian rivers is so much impeded by shoals and other obstructions, that the cost of carrying on them is as much, or nearly as much, as by cart. In Scinde “the Banyans generally, and the Affghan traders altogether, prefer the land to the river route.”—Letter from the Collector of Shikapoor to the Commissioner in Scinde. The Godavery, although said to be navigable for at least six months in the year, and that, too, immediately after the gathering of the cotton crop, has not a ton of carried traffic.—*Vide* Colonel Cotton’s “Public Works in India,” p. 81.

If I am correct in these statements, and you will find in the notes to this paper and the documents referred to, that they are well supported by evidence, it follows that any works of irrigation which do not possess all three of these essentials must be comparatively worthless, and will become entirely so, wherever the fully efficient canal is introduced, which kind of canal is illustrated by these drawings. No 1 is a ground plan showing the course of a proposed canal. The continuous red line is the first section, or the part to be first constructed, and the dotted lines the future extensions. Nearly the whole of these two provinces of Scinde and the Punjaub are alluvial plain, with an average fall from the hills to the sea of about one foot to the mile, consequently there would be very little lockage; certainly not more than one lock in fifty miles.

As the flow of water in an irrigating canal would be too great to pass through locks, it would be necessary, where the fall of the country caused a rapid flow, obstructive to navigation, to pass it by a side lock, as shown in Fig. 2. Fig. 3 shows a cross section of the canal, with its embankments above the surface of the country, puddled and lined with brickwork or masonry, and a metalled towing-path on each side. The canal would be full of water throughout the year, except when emptied for repairs. The water would rise and fall more or less daily between these high and low-water marks, according to the extent of the draught for irrigating purposes. To prevent its being run dry it would be necessary to fix the sills of the irrigating sluices four feet above the canal bed, which would secure a depth of four feet for navigation at all times. The overflow of the embankments would be prevented by a simple contrivance, known to every owner of a water-mill as an overfall to carry off surplus water, which would prevent its rising above high-water mark. Through sluices in the embankments the water would flow without any lifting to the extent of eight miles on both sides, the transverse section of the country being a matter of no importance as regards the fall, because anything that might be lost on one side would be gained on the other. The area of irrigation might be easily extended beyond eight miles, if it were thought expedient to do so, by means of short branches at intervals.

The plan of supplying the canal is to throw a dam (Fig. 4) across the river near Mittun Kote, to raise the whole body of the water in the river to the surface of the country, at the same time protecting the land above the dam from inundation by embankments, as shown on the ground plan (4½). The water thus raised would be admitted through sluices at its head, which would regulate the supply. According to the estimate of Mr. W. Purdon, Government Engineer, in his Report on the Rivers of the Punjaub, the minimum flow of water in the

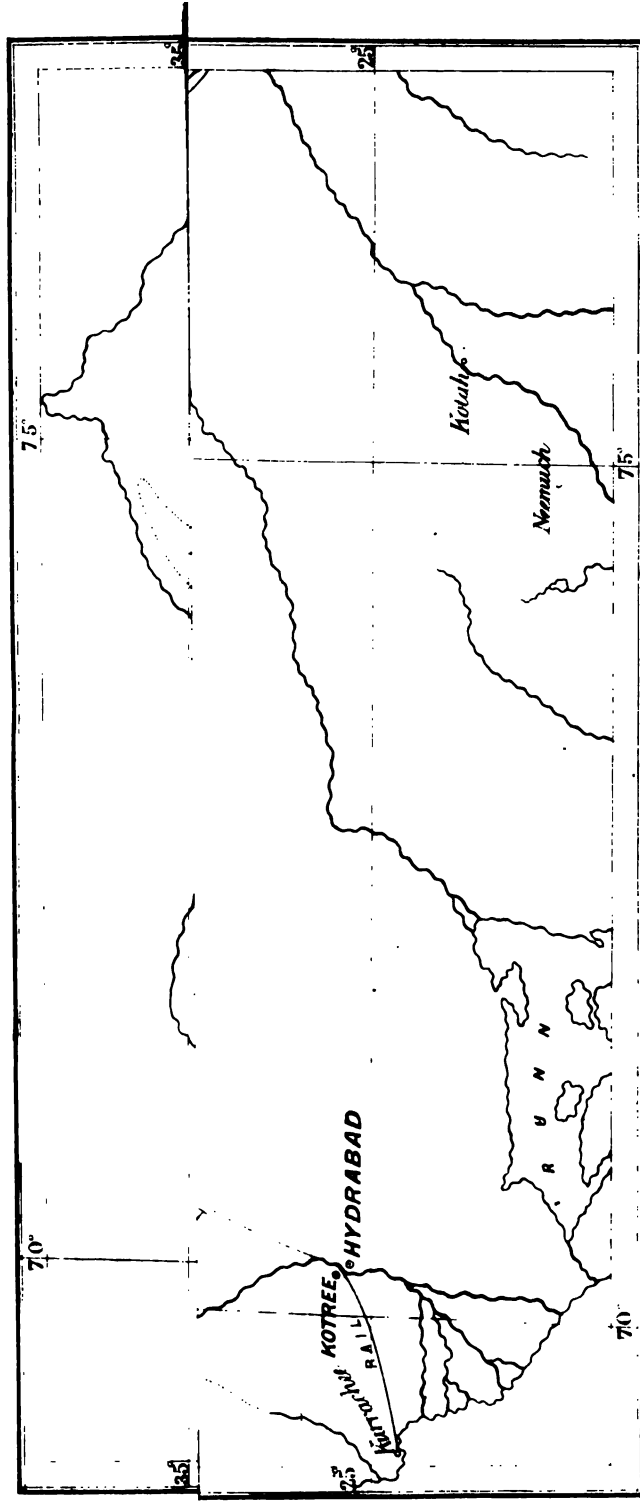
river at Mittun Kote is 51,500¹ cubic feet per second, and the maximum at Midsummer nine times this quantity. Taking one-half the maximum as the mean quantity, and allowing 5,000 cubic yards for the irrigation of an acre of land, the mean quantity of water is equal to the irrigation of 54,000,000 of acres, or more than the whole of the cultivable land in the provinces. As it is proposed to irrigate but a million and a quarter of acres by this canal, or 4,500 acres per mile, it would take from the river, at low flood, one-tenth part, and at high flood, one-ninetieth part only of the water now running waste; the remainder, passing over the dam, would follow its old course to the sea. I have estimated the cost of the work as 5,000*l.* per mile; without any excessive pressure on the labour market this cost would not be exceeded, the construction of such works being easier in Scinde and the Panjaub than any other part of India, or of the globe, except similar countries, such as Egypt, &c. In other parts of India a similar work would cost from 5,000*l.* to 8,000*l.* per mile, according to the character of the levels and the drainage to be encountered. These canals would enable the planter or cultivator to obtain as good a crop of cotton or sugar as is produced in any country.

In speaking of agricultural products, I have confined my observations to cotton and sugar. As regards the agriculture and commerce of India, as well as the commerce and manufactures of this country, besides other important considerations involved in our dependence on slave labour, they are the most important. Their production, too, in sufficient quantity, and at a sufficiently low cost, to displace, in the markets of Europe, the produce of the slave, depends entirely upon an efficient system of canals. Beside these, however, there is scarcely an article of tropical or ex-tropical growth which is not produced in India, and of which the production would not be greatly stimulated by canals. In short, a general system of such as I have described would increase (in value) the proceeds of labour of 180,000,000 of people ten-fold, or from 3*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* at least per adult labourer per diem, or, speaking in the gross, it would increase the general produce of the country from 200,000,000*l.* (which, if I remember correctly, was the estimate of the late Sir Thomas Munro) to 2,000,000,000*l.* a-year. This, it may be said, is mere theory. Sound theory is always the stepping-stone to all profitable practice. It is a theory only, that a competent builder, with all necessary materials in the form of bricks, mortar, wood, &c., could build a house; but it is a theory that is based upon well-ascer-

¹ The relative cost of lifting this quantity of water by steam power, and by permanent dam, would be as under:—

93,636 horse-power, 365 days of 24 hours, 150 <i>l.</i>	£ 14,045,400
Cost of dam, &c., 200,000 <i>l.</i> , interest 5 per cent.	10,000

No. 1



the beds of the channels and raised with a double lift, wheel working over wheel as shown in drawing No. 7. The cost of thus lifting it with hired labour is, as nearly as I could estimate it, *8l. 10s. 6d.* per acre of sugar-cane, which is of much higher value for local consumption, both as a vegetable and as a vegetable product, than for export in the form of sugar, which is imported from other countries. This kind of irrigation is not applied to cotton. It is only to a very limited extent that it could be used for the purpose, because of the scanty supply of water from wells; and I doubt if even a good crop would pay the expense.

It was stated by Lord Stanley, when Secretary of State for India, that some of these canals realize a profit of 50 and 100 per cent. This requires explanation. None of them pay more than an ordinary amount of land-tax, which may amount in some cases to 50 or 100 per cent. on their net cost. If in addition to such cost they were charged with the proportion of Government expenses, justly chargeable to them, the result would be not a profit but a loss, as the expenses would be greatly in excess of the returns. Were any private individual to construct such works and pay the land tax, which is an imperative charge on all cultivated land (except in cases of privileged exemption), the whole of the money so invested would be lost. The more efficient kind of canal would so largely increase the produce of land and labour as to yield not only the land tax, but also a large profit to the canal owners, and should the water rent be limited to *20s.* per acre, a yet larger profit to the land proprietor, which is all I have to say on this subject.

In speaking of manufactures in India, I will limit my remarks to that of cotton. With extensive coal fields easily worked, an abundance of cheap, docile, and teachable labour, raw cotton at about one-fourth part the English cost, an unlimited demand for manufactured fabrics at prices greatly in excess of those obtainable here, and a Government which would certainly do nothing to discourage a manufacturing trade, its facilities for such operations are unequalled. Few of these advantages are to be found in the same degree in any other country; all of them combined, in none. The only disadvantages compared with this country are the high cost of European superintendence, and the expense of carrying out machinery. These would, in my opinion, be counter-balanced in the course of a year or two by the cheapness of Indian labour; and the cost of spinning on the great coal field of Central India would be no more than at Manchester. It follows, therefore, that the expense of taking cotton from Central India to Manchester to be spun, and back again, amounting to the enormous sum of

7d.¹ per lb., exclusive of the cost of spinning, would be saved, and by so much add to the profits of the manufacturer. So large would these profits be till a sufficient quantity of machinery should be employed to spin all the cotton now spun in India, estimated by Dr. Forbes Watson at 5,400,000 bales² a year, which quantity would probably be doubled by an improvement in the material condition of the labouring classes. These profits would continue till reduced by the competition of machinery with machinery in India, or in other words, till the whole demand was supplied by steam power. Although the manufacturer would no doubt realize extremely large profits for many years to come, the people of the country would derive no benefit from the application of machinery to manufacturing until employed extensively enough to reduce the cost of spinning to the consumer below its present cost, as spun by the antediluvian wheel and spindle. Even then the benefit would be small. To a man who spends less than 20s. a-year in clothes, a slight reduction in the price of cloth would be no great advantage. The means of producing 10l. worth of cotton from an acre of land, which now yields but 10s. worth, would obviously be infinitely greater.

As regards the commerce between the two countries it appears clear to me that the promotion of agricultural improvements in the way suggested, would increase immensely the exchange now carried on of manufactured for raw commodities, the more so as such improvements would provide a more profitable employment than that of making their own cloth, for those who are now engaged in the dry season in manufacturing with a wheel some millions of bales of cotton; the want of which employment is the sole cause of their taking so small a quantity of manufactured goods and so much bullion from this country. On the contrary, the extensive employment of capital in manufactures, would greatly diminish the commercial intercourse between the two countries.

	d.		d.
¹ Price of cotton in Central India (<i>vide</i> Chapman's Cotton and Commerce of India) per lb.	1½	Selling price of 20's water twist at Bombay, as per prices current, 7 annas per lb.	10½
Cost of spinning 20's water twist, including waste, interest on capital, and ordinary profit	3½	Cost of transmission to Central India, commission, &c.	1½
Extra profit	7		
	12d.	Selling price	12d.

² Cotton Supply Reporter, August 1st, 1860. This includes a portion used in its raw state for padding purposes.

Having thus touched on the most important points in connection with the agriculture, manufactures, and commerce of India—briefly, but yet elaborately enough for the time and the occasion, the conclusion at which I arrive is, that—in accordance with sound principles of public economy—to promote the greatest happiness of the greatest number, it is the interest of both countries to encourage the investment of capital in land improvements rather than in manufacturing; the first step towards which is the efficient canalization of the country. The only practical way of accomplishing this, is to encourage English capitalists to undertake it, who, as a matter of course, would secure the services of the most competent men for the work. It is one which has yet to be commenced, and which requires a large amount of capital, and the greatest engineering experience that can be brought to bear upon it.

Mr. Balston having finished the reading of his paper, and, on the invitation by the President for any gentlemen present to offer their remarks upon it, Mr. Fincham and Mr. Dickinson, having shortly offered a few objections to some of the passages,

Dr. Forbes Watson next remarked that, "although exception might be taken to some of the views in the paper which had just been read, there could be only one opinion as to the indebtedness of the Society to Mr. Balston, for having so well brought before it a subject of vast importance to the welfare of India.

"In the very few remarks which he (*Dr. Watson*) could make, he should not stop to do more than indicate the questionable fairness of contrasting the value of the exports from the least developed province in, perhaps, the whole of India, with those from the most highly cultivated portion of the United States, and therefrom drawing an inference as to the unproductiveness of all other parts.

"India's two greatest wants were, undoubtedly, water and roads. The necessity for artificial irrigation depended, however, very much upon the climate and soil of particular districts. Mr. Balston had considered the advantages of such works in connection with the cultivation of two products of great importance, viz., cotton and sugar. For the cultivation of the sugar-cane, an abundant supply of water was essential; but with respect to cotton, he (*Dr. Watson*) would beg to point out the fact, that Central and Southern India afforded huge tracts of country admirably adapted for

its cultivation, in which means for artificial irrigation are not only not required, but which if applied would prove, except in seasons of unusual drought, actually hurtful. The great black cotton soil of India absorbs certain moisture with extraordinary avidity, and not only theoretical considerations founded on a physical and chemical examination of such soils, but the results of the experiments in India and the reports lately to hand, showed that in black soil districts artificial irrigation is practically not required. The case, however, is very different when we pass to the river systems of the north and east, with their great alluvial plains formed by them in course of ages. Alluvial soils have but poor capacity for moisture, and it is to these that canals are of such importance. While fully impressed with the vast, indeed paramount, importance of such works, the practical point which he (Dr. Watson) wished to enforce was this, that as far as cotton is concerned we have existing in India tracts of country sufficient, with adequate management, to supply almost the whole of the cotton marts of Europe, without our having to wait for the carrying out of works, which must of necessity take years for their completion." After a few other remarks on the kind of canals proposed by Mr. Balston for universal adoption and the probable interference of such with the general drainage of the country,—points on which he, however, did not feel himself competent to speak,—Dr. Watson concluded by remarking, that "if the sad trial through which our fellow-subjects are at this moment passing in India had only the effect of stimulating the discovery of the advisability of raising special loans for the execution of works so calculated not only to save life but to fill up the exhausted coffers of the State, the present famine so imperatively requiring every exertion, public as well as private, for its amelioration, will in the end, like most ills, have brought its attendant blessing."

Major W. H. Greathed, C.B.—"I trust that the circumstances of my being an officer of Bengal Engineers, and of my being employed during a considerable portion of my career in India in the construction and superintendence of works of irrigation, will acquit me of presumption in addressing a few words to the meeting on the interesting subject which has been brought before us by the gentleman whose paper has been read this evening.

"Mr. Balston appears to divide his subject under four heads. He argues at some length that irrigation is desirable in India; he contends that the cultivation of cotton and sugar is the most profitable that can be carried on in that country; he declares that no works of irrigation have heretofore been constructed which are of practical

benefit to the country; and he implies that he has originated a scheme for utilizing the waters of the Punjab rivers, and fertilizing the countries which border them.

"The first conclusion, 'that irrigation is desirable in India,' is as universally regarded as an axiom by all who are acquainted with the capabilities and the needs of that vast country, as to require no discussion; but remark is challenged by some of the statements on which Mr. Balston's reasoning is founded; such, for instance, as his deduction that the soil of India is unproductive in comparison with that of America, because the wages of an agricultural labourer are three pence (or less) a-day in the former country, and four shillings in the latter. I hope to be excused for repeating the truism that the value of labour, as of any other marketable commodity, depends mainly on the proportion between supply and demand, and of suggesting that the great difference of wages cited by Mr. Balston is chiefly the result of the old country, India, being covered with a teeming population; whereas the new country, America, is as yet only partially occupied by people who within the last two generations have come from beyond the ocean to settle there. And indeed the comparison instituted would seem to disprove the conclusion drawn, for it establishes that an agricultural labourer in India must be able to live with his wife and family, or with his plural wives and families, as the case may be, for three pence a-day, which is all he earns. Must not the products of the earth be cheap indeed where even the merest necessities of life are purchased at such a price?

"The propriety of growing cotton and sugar in India rather than any other kind of produce is a question which I am confident this meeting will agree with me we cannot discuss with advantage. The practicability of growing these crops to profit under certain conditions is beyond a doubt, the degree to which they are grown must continue to be governed by the inexorable laws which regulate supply and demand.

"I now turn to Mr. Balston's statement, that nothing has yet been done towards the successful development of irrigation in India. We find that in Bengal we have canals parallel to the river Jumna, which diffuse on either side the whole of its available waters taken from the point where it debouches from the Himalaya mountains. Regarding the canal at the western side of the Jumna, the result of commercial calculation of profit and loss establishes that, after computing all monies sunk, not only in its construction, but in its administration and maintenance, at five per cent. compound interest, a net profit has directly accrued to the State by receipts from water-rent

alone of 285 per cent. on the total amount of these moneys. Let this be clearly understood, the revenue derived from the mere sale of water on the Western Jumna Canal has repaid all the capital sunk in it nearly three times over within a period of five-and-thirty years, in addition to a yearly dividend of five per cent. per annum throughout that period; and the revenue derived from the sale of water is the least benefit conferred by the canal. By rendering culturable vast tracts of land, which in the absence of irrigation were incapable of cultivation, the construction of the canal has converted tribes of nomad cattle-reivers into industrious labourers, it has increased the production of the country it traverses at least tenfold, and it is doubtful whether even this multiplication of wealth is a boon as great as the safeguard against drought and local famine, which the canal affords to the Government and to the people. The Eastern Jumna Canal, in a career of five-and-twenty years, besides paying a five per cent. dividend, and conferring on the country it waters the indirect benefits above described, which are common to all canals, has repaid in hard coin six-sevenths of the capital embarked upon it.

“Passing over minor works of irrigation, the next important work taken in order of date of construction is the Ganges Canal, which would seem almost too large to be accidentally overlooked by any one competent to speak on the subject of irrigation in India. For this magnificent work stands without a parallel in the world—a Mississippi of canals. Its design and execution are triumphs alike of hydrauic engineering and of persistent energy: for difficulties, material and moral, had to be overcome in the course of its construction, which would have subdued any brain less fertile, any heart less gallant, than that which Sir Proby Cautley has devoted to this imperial work.

“The length of the navigable main channels of irrigation will be 850 miles; the volume of water it carries amounts to 6,750 cubic feet per second, which will suffice to irrigate an area of 8,500 square miles, equal in extent to two-thirds of the whole kingdom of Belgium. The capital embarked in the undertaking amounts to nearly two and a-half millions sterling, and the promise of returns is proportional.

“I quote an extract from a letter of Mr. Login, executive engineer of the northern division of the canal, dated January, 1861:—

“‘The canal is doing wonders this year; results are estimated thus:—

	£
“ ‘ Water rate	75,000
“ ‘ Revenue saved	500,000
“ ‘ Produce saved	2,000,000

“In other words, the crops saved by irrigation this cold weather will more than pay the prime cost of the Ganges Canal, besides saving the lives of thousands; it not only saves by its irrigation, but by its navigation; about 4,000 tons of grain being brought up monthly by the canal, on which 520 barges are now plying.”

“This year of grievous famine is of course a very favourable one for the canal; because, save where its waters penetrate there is no production from the earth, consequently no revenue, no means of sustenance; so that all the produce and revenue saved by the canal is in very truth for this especial year produce and revenue *created*. The result of the navigation of the canal is, that the Company which has undertaken the carrying trade offers its shareholders a thumping dividend, as we shall presently learn from our Honourable President. Thus, both in respect of irrigation and navigation, the Ganges Canal, as yet an incomplete creation, affords contradiction to Mr. Halsdon's implication that no efficient canals have yet been constructed in India.

“In the Madras Presidency more has been done for irrigation than in Bengal; the waters of the Cauvery, the Colerom, the Kistnah, and the Godavery, all rivers of first or second class magnitude, have been turned to full account by the genius of Sir Arthur Cotton, and a system of storing the rain-fall of the wet seasons in large reservoirs or tanks has prevailed in Madras on a very large scale throughout the historic period. In Tanjore the result of the Cauvery and Colerom Canals has increased the revenue by an average of upwards of 100,000*l.* a-year for 58 years, in which period 6,380,000*l.* is reported to have been added to the revenue by an expenditure of 600,000*l.*; and this increase is a very small part of the benefit done. At the mouths of the Kistnah and Godavery, several small harbours whence the produce of the irrigated districts is exported, afford opportunities of correctly gauging the material condition of the country. In 1841-2, a year of unusual prosperity, previous to the construction of the irrigation works, the total value of exports from these ports amounted to 29,000*l.* In 1857-8, a year of scanty rains, and therefore of limited natural production, the value of exports stood at 280,000*l.*

“These are startling figures; and as about a thousand miles of connected river and canal water-carriage have been given free to the community, whilst the revenues have increased 80 per cent. per annum on what they were formerly, such increase amounting to 25 per cent. per annum on the capital sunk, we may venture to conclude that the art of ‘canalization’ is pretty well understood in the Madras Presidency.

"The meeting will now be well disposed towards Mr. Balston's proposals for utilizing the waters of the Punjab rivers, and fertilizing the countries which border them ; but that gentleman's claim to the original conception of this project cannot in fairness be admitted. So long ago as 1837, when the Punjab was yet subject to Seikh rulers, Colonel W. E. Baker presented to Government a mature and scientific project for employing to advantage the waters of the Sutlej, on which alone, at that time, we had a right to lay our hands. And in January, 1849, whilst actually in the field with the Army which finally conquered the land of the five rivers, and before that country was annexed, Colonel Baird Smith, the distinguished successor of Sir Proby Cautley, employed his scanty leisure, and applied his mature experience, to the production of a scheme, based on the example of the Ganges canals, for the application to irrigation of the waters of all the Punjab rivers. Of this project a part has already been carried out, and the waters of the Ravee are doing good service in mitigating the famine with which India is now scourged.

"Mr. Balston has informed the meeting that he had devoted his attention almost exclusively to the subject before him during a seven years' residence in India, yet he evidently knew none of these things ; for he takes pains to define the essentials of irrigation canals, and distinctly implies that no canals have been constructed on the principles he advocates. It is, therefore, only a coincidence that his plan No. 1 represents the general features of Colonel Baird Smith's plan of 1849, and that the diagrams Nos. 2, 3, 4, 4½, representing the methods he has invented for some portion of the works of a canal yet to be made, are almost absolutely identical with pictures of works actually executed, as represented in various printed Reports of the Governments of India and of Madras respectively.

"Let the meeting be assured that no subject has engrossed the attention of the faithful, earnest men who have devoted, and are devoting, a life-long service to the material improvement of India, than that of promoting irrigation, and there is none which the Government has for many years past more cordially encouraged ; but want of funds has always prevented vigorous action.

"It is owing to a want of money that the minor channels of distribution of the Ganges canal are now so incomplete that the country it traverses is not receiving one-half the benefit which should accrue from its influence ; it is owing to want of money that the scheme for irrigating from the Sutlej has been in abeyance since 1857, and that but one river of the Punjab has yet been applied to irrigation ; it is want of money which accounts for the delta of the Mahanuddy being

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